

MADIS MAASING

The Role of the Bishops  
in the Livonian Political System  
(in the First Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century)





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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS INCLUDED IN THE DISSERTATION .....	8
1. INTRODUCTION .....	9
1.1. Purpose and Main Hypotheses of the Dissertation.....	9
1.2. Overview of the Articles and Primary Topics .....	13
1.3. Methodological and Theoretical Approaches.....	17
1.3.1. Historical Political Communication .....	17
1.3.2. Networks.....	19
1.3.3. Regionalism and Its Variations .....	21
1.4. Historiography.....	24
1.4.1. Early Baltic German Research and Later General Tendencies	24
1.4.2. Rhetoric, Argumentation, and the “Russian Threat” .....	26
1.4.3. Political Institutions, Relations, and Events .....	27
1.4.4. Biographical Information about Livonian rulers, and Margrave Wilhelm.....	31
1.4.5. The Role of Religion in the Politics of Livonia.....	34
1.4.6. Livonia and the Holy Roman Empire.....	35
1.4.7. Contributions of This Dissertation to the Historiography .....	36
1.5. Sources .....	37
2. CONCLUSIONS .....	41
2.1. External Contexts: “Russian Threat” Rhetoric, Connections with the Holy Roman Empire, Papal and Imperial Authority.....	41
2.2. Internal Contexts: Argumentation and Feuds .....	42
2.3. Religion and Livonian Politics .....	44
2.4. The Ambitions and Politics of Margrave Wilhelm .....	46
2.5. The Main Traits of the Political Relations in Livonia .....	48
2.6. The Role of Livonian Bishops.....	49
3. ARTICLES .....	53
4. BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	277
5. SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN .....	306
6. APPENDICES.....	313
6.1. Map of Livonia after 1534 .....	313
6.2. Confirmations of Livonian rulers by the Pope and the Emperor, 1530–56 .....	314
CURRICULUM VITAE .....	315
ELULOOKIRJELDUS .....	316

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS INCLUDED IN THE DISSERTATION

- I “Infidel Turks and Schismatic Russians in Late Medieval Livonia”, *Fear and Loathing in the North. Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region*, ed. Cordelia Heß, Jonathan Adams. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, 347–388.
- II “Propagandasõda Saare-Lääne vaenuse aegsel Liivimaal (1532–36)”, *Läänemaa Muuseumi Toimetised XVIII* (2015), 123–174.
- III “Saare-Lääne ja koadjuutorivaenus: keskaegse Liivimaa viimased kodusõjad”, *Ajalooline Ajakiri* 2 (132) (2010), 115–152.
- IV “Markkrahv Wilhelmi suhted Tartu piiskoppidega (1530.–1550. aastatel)”, *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Aastaraamat* 2012 (2013), 93–128.
- V “Die Metropolitanverbindung Rigas mit preußischen Bistümern zur Zeit des Erzbischofs Wilhelm von Brandenburg”, *Die baltischen Länder und Europa in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 26), ed. Norbert Angermann, Karsten Brüggemann, Inna Pöltsam-Jürjo, Köln; Weimar; Wien: Böhlau, 2015, 165–187.
- VI “Miks ebaõnnestus Riia peapiiskopi Wilhelmi 1540. aastatel ettevõetud reformatsioonikatsed?”, *Usuteaduslik ajakiri* 66.1 (2014), 45–61.



# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Purpose and Main Hypotheses of the Dissertation

The central aim of this dissertation is to assess the role and activities of Livonian Bishops in the political system of Medieval Livonia<sup>1</sup> from the 1530s to the beginning of the 1550s. These years have often been seen as a period of political and moral decadence in Livonia, while it preceded the downfall and division of the land between Russia, Denmark, Poland-Lithuania and Sweden during the beginning of the Livonian War, or Russo-Livonian War (1558–1561/62).<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the internal political situation – events and their contexts, relations and interdependencies of different powers, and overall functioning of internal political institutions – has not yet been studied thoroughly and systematically in the decades that preceded the war. The greatest part of the research of 16th-century Livonia has been dedicated either to the introduction of the Reformation in the 1520s, or the prehistory and the beginning of the war at the end of the 1550s. Moreover, most studies of the political history of medieval Livonia concentrate on the leading powers: the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order and the Archbishop of Riga, and the relationship between them. It is certain, that their conflicts often determined the course of Livonian internal policies from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>3</sup> but as most of the studies on Livonian political history have been Order-centred – especially early Baltic German studies stressed its dominant and positive status in Livonia, while the policies of the Bishops were often seen as negative and egoistic – the role of the Order has until quite recently been overemphasized at the expense of other Livonian powers (see §1.4.1).

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<sup>1</sup> Medieval times in Livonia (which comprised the contemporary territories of Estonia and Latvia) are generally considered to cover the period from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century (*Eesti ajalugu. II, Eesti keskaeg*, ed. Anti Selart, Tartu 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Recently, the traditional concept and periodization of the Livonian War (1558–1583) has been put under question. The alternatives include the Northern Wars (Robert Ian Frost, *The Northern Wars. War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe 1558–1721*, London; New York 2000), Hundred Years' War in Livonia (Margus Laidre, *Domus belli. Põhjamaade Saja-aastane sõda Liivimaal 1554–1661*, Tallinn 2015; *Idem*, “Der Hundertjährige Krieg (1558–1660/61) in Estland”, *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte*, 1 (2006), 68–81.), and Baltic Wars of 1555–1595 (Aleksandr Filjuškin, “Kui kaua kestis Liivi sõda?”, *Tuna* 4 (2015), 5–13). Nevertheless, I think that first war years could be still called the Russo-Livonian War (*Vene-Liivimaa sõda; Russisch-Livländischer Krieg*), as the dissolution of Livonia was mainly caused by the Russian attack.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of internal political relations, see: Bernhart Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner Herrschaft in Livland* (Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 16), Berlin 2011, 76–98; Henrike Bolte, “Die livländischen Bistümer im Spätmittelalter. Bedeutung und Forschungsinteresse am Beispiel ihrer Besetzung”, *Leonid Arbusow (1882–1951) und die Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Livland* (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 24), ed. Ilgvars Misāns and Klaus Neitmann, Köln etc 2014, 209–228. For further literature, see §1.4.3.

Medieval Livonia was a loosely interconnected conglomeration of territories, that was ruled by ecclesiastical princes: The Landmaster of the Order, the Archbishop of Riga, and three Bishops with princely powers – the Bishops of Dorpat (Estonian *Tartu*), Ösel-Wiek (Latin *Osilia*, Estonian *Saare-Lääne*), and Kurland (English also *Courland*, Latin *Curonia*, Latvian *Kurzeme*) – while the Bishop of Reval (Estonian *Tallinn*) had very limited secular power.<sup>4</sup> Recent treatises present quite convincingly that none of them, the Order included, was able to subjugate others enduringly under its will, and that these powers had to seek compromise between themselves instead.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, the political activities and influence of most Livonian Bishops have not yet been thoroughly studied (see §1.4.3 and §1.4.4).

In the current thesis, I will observe, how Livonian Bishops acted during different political situations, which motivated their actions, as well as their possibilities to affect general politics, especially in comparison with the Order and the Archbishop. This helps to characterize more precisely general functioning of the political system of 16th-century Livonia. Medieval Livonia has been seen here as a historical political region comprised of the aforementioned princely territories, which had a certain grade of integration, and feeling of togetherness, although it lacked a local common ruler and authority, i.e. centre. On a broader level, Livonia can certainly be seen as a peripheral area in various contexts. For the central institutions of the Holy Roman Empire, it was perhaps the most distant area from Germany that could be regarded as a part of the Empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (see §1.2 and §1.4.6). At the same time, Livonians presented themselves also as the brave defenders of true faith and civilization on the outer edge of Christendom, and Livonia can be indeed regarded as a borderland and a periphery, both for standing on the border of Western and Eastern Christendom, far from Rome, and also being a distant part of the Empire (see §1.3.3). The Livonian political system is seen here as formed and maintained by political interactions between the political powers of Livonia. Here, I rely upon Niklas Luhmann's theory of social systems, according to which, these systems – including the political ones – are created and upheld by communication, and thus one should primarily study political communication,

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<sup>4</sup> For the political geography of Livonia: Article III, 128 (map in Estonian); and Appendix 1 here (map in English). For the Bishopric of Reval: Richard Hasselblatt, "Die Metropolitanverbindung Revals mit Lund", *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete Liv-, Est- und Kurlands* 14 (1890), 462–466; Klaus Neitmann, "Der Deutsche Orden und die Revaler Bischofserhebungen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert", *Reval. Handel und Wandel vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 8), ed. Norbert Angermann and Wilhelm Lenz, Lüneburg 1997, 43–86.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Thomas Lange, *Zwischen Reformation und Untergang Alt-Livlands: der Rigaer Erzbischof Wilhelm von Brandenburg im Beziehungsgeflecht der livländischen Konföderation und ihrer Nachbarländer*, Vol. 1, Hamburg 2014, 31–101; Juhan Kreem, "Der Deutsche Orden im 16. Jahrhundert. Die Spätzeit einer geistlichen Adelskorporation in Livland", *Leonid Arbusow (1882–1951) und die Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Livland*, 287–296.

including its special “language” (e.g. rhetoric and argumentation which reveal the intentions of political actors) to understand political systems (see §1.3.1).

In the framework of this thesis, it was naturally impossible to enlighten fully the political system of Livonia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and all political activities of the Bishops. For this reason, I decided to concentrate on the aspects that were until recently rather neglected, but at the same time crucial to understanding both the role of the Bishops and the political system. This will be done in six case studies that form the main part of this treatise, and are referred to hereinafter as Articles I–VI. Thematically, the dissertation firstly limits itself with the studies on the relations of Livonian princes, and does not discuss in detail their relations with their Estates (German *Stände*).<sup>6</sup> The Diet of Livonia (German *Landtag*) is also not under special consideration here, but it has been studied by Pärtel Piirimäe.<sup>7</sup> Also relations between the Order and the Bishops have been studied somewhat, while the political relationship of the Archbishop with other Bishops has not gained much attention, but that will be done hereafter (esp. in Articles IV–V). Of Livonian Bishops, primarily the relations and activities of the Bishops of Dorpat and Ösel-Wiek are studied, as they were most prominent princes of Livonia after the Master of the Order and the Archbishop, and the source material about them is significantly richer than regarding the Bishops of Kurland and Reval. A closer examination of the relations between Livonian Bishops themselves remains a prospective task, however.<sup>8</sup>

While the political communication of Livonia has not yet been greatly studied in the case of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (see §1.4.2), attention will be turned some of its main characteristics, e.g. rhetoric and argumentation (esp. in Articles I–II). Internal conflicts are also important to the thesis, as they reveal most clearly which were the actual means and possibilities of different Livonian powers, including the Bishops, to affect the political situation, and thus two major internal conflicts – the Feud of Ösel-Wiek (1532–36) and the Coadjutor’s Feud (1556–57) – are observed (Articles II–III). As the question of the role of the Reformation and religious diversities in Livonian politics has often taken a central place in studies about 16th-Century Livonia, it will be also discussed here in examples of some concrete political events (especially in Article VI). Almost every paper discusses two additional subjects, which are quite significant in the general context of the current thesis: The political activities of

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<sup>6</sup> Until now, this topic is not much studied, the most important recent treatises are written by Pärtel Piirimäe, e.g.: “Riik, maaisand ja seisused. Varauusaegsete võimustruktuuride kujunemisest Vana- Liivimaa piiskopkondades”, *Kleio* 3 (1995), 16–25. See also: §1.4.3.

<sup>7</sup> “Staatenbund oder Ständestaat? Der livländische Landtag im Zeitalter Wolters von Plettenberg (1494–1535)”, *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 8 (2013), 40–80.

<sup>8</sup> This topic seems to be difficult to research, as there are notably fewer sources containing the relations between the Bishops than those that consist the relationships of the Bishops with the Order and the Archbishop. However, this task is certainly possible, as at least the Archive of the Bishop of Ösel-Wiek, that is situated in the Danish National Archives, contains rich information about the 16<sup>th</sup> century (about situation with the sources, see §1.5).

Margrave Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Ansbach, and Livonian relations with the Holy Roman Empire.

Before moving to the more extensive overview of the contents of the papers, and discussion of relevant topics for the dissertation (§1.2), I formulate the main hypotheses. Firstly, in addition to the Order and the Archbishop, the Bishops of Dorpat and Ösel-Wiek, and probably also the Bishop of Kurland, also had a decisive say in Livonian politics. Although they did not have possibilities to enforce policies that could directly oppose the intentions of both major powers, they had the opportunity to decide which side – the Order or the Archbishop – would have the upper hand in a political dispute. At the same time, the decision as whom to support was made with respect to two levels – whether it concerned more the specific interests of the Bishops, or rather the entire Livonia as a region. Moreover, the Bishops probably tended to support a relative balance of powers in Livonia more than the two major powers, as only this situation gave them a crucial role in Livonian political system (for the results, see §§2.5–2.6).

Secondly, I claim that it was very important for almost every political power in Livonia to solve all political problems inside the land and without the foreign intervention. But that task was quite difficult, and there were quite a few opportunities to solve these problems expeditiously. As the consent of almost every Livonian political power was needed for decision-making, it could be quite easily obstructed, as will be shown in the cases of attempts to resolve the Feud of Ösel-Wiek and the Coadjutor's Feud (for the results, see §2.5).<sup>9</sup>

Thirdly, regarding the characteristics and essence of inner-Livonian reciprocal relations between the rulers,<sup>10</sup> I suppose that these were, most generally speaking, equal. In other words, there were no relations that were clearly unequal (like patron-client relations): Not between the Order and the Bishops, and also not between the Archbishop and the Bishops, although the latter were ecclesiastically the subordinates of the former. Furthermore, I think that family relations, or kinship, did not play very decisive role in the relations of the rulers, as they were normally not close relatives, and their families – of low nobility, or town burghers – were not influential enough to affect the regional level of Livonian politics. The only exception here is Margrave Wilhelm, whose close relatives were rulers of neighbouring countries (for the results, see §§2.4–2.6).

Fourthly, in the case of religion, I suppose that lack of religious disputes in Livonian policies was firstly caused by the fact that there were no clearly

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<sup>9</sup> I also discuss the conflicts and solution attempts elsewhere: Madis Maasing, “Die Wicksche Fehde (1532–1536) und Markgraf Wilhelm von Brandenburg”, *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 5 (2010), 11–35; Madis Maasing, “Rahutu Saare-Lääne piiskopkond: piiskopid, aadelkond ja kapiitel 1520.–1540. aastatel”, *Läänemaa muuseumi toimetised* XV (2012), 22–42.

<sup>10</sup> For a theoretical basis, I have used Wolfgang Reinhard's theory of *Verflechtung* (*Freunde und Kreaturen. Verflechtung als Konzept zur Erforschung historischer Führungsgruppen. Römische Oligarchie um 1600* (Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg 14), München 1979). See also §1.3.2.

opposing confessional fronts yet, and that the hopes for the reunion of the Western Church were probably quite high until the 1550s. It seems also that for Livonian rulers, maintaining inner-Livonian stability was more important than religious disputes, which was probably caused by the fact that the role of religion for Livonian power structures – which in their essence were reputedly ecclesiastical – started to diminish already before the beginning of the Reformation, as Livonian rulers saw themselves increasingly as secular princes, and not as high ecclesiastical dignitaries (for the results, see §2.3).

After the overview of the topics discussed in the articles, I will present the theoretical and methodological considerations of the dissertation (§1.3), which will be followed by the discussion on historiography (§1.4) and sources (§1.5), and thereafter, the conclusions of the dissertation (§2).

## 1.2. Overview of the Articles and Primary Topics

The first paper – which can be regarded as an introduction to the rest of the dissertation – observes one of the most widely used rhetorical complexes in 16th-century Livonia: The “Russian threat”, which stressed the dangerousness, unchristianness, and barbarity of the eastern neighbours of the Livonians. It discusses the foundations of the “Russian threat” and its rise in importance during the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and compares it with the rhetoric of the “Turkish threat”, which greatly affected the former. The paper also gives an overview of the usage of “Russian threat” rhetoric in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Additionally, Livonians depicted their land as standing on the edge of Christendom, as a protective shield for other Christians (Latin *Antemurale Christianitatis*), a notion that was common to the regions that stood on the borderlands of the Western Christendom.

In the respect of understanding Livonian communication, Article I presents three results. The first is that the rhetoric of the “Russian threat” was mainly used for other political reasons than actually seeking direct help against the Russians, such as defaming his opponents, justifying his political activities, or avoiding paying taxes to the Holy Roman Empire. Thus, it continued the trends of earlier times, when Livonians implemented analogous rhetorical constructions of various “evil and unchristian enemies” for similar reasons.<sup>11</sup> Secondly, the rhetoric was mostly used if addressing powers outside of Livonia, such as the Holy Roman Empire, and had quite restricted importance inside Livonia. It also appears that external rhetoric of all Livonian powers was generally similar, and that usually the Order played the most central part in its design and performance.

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<sup>11</sup> Anti Selart, “Political Rhetoric and the Edges of Christianity: Livonia and its Evil Enemies in the Fifteenth Century”, *The Edges of the Medieval World*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Juhan Kreem, Budapest 2009, 55–69.

Article II discusses the political argumentation during the Feud of Ösel-Wiek and ascertains which kind of arguments – offensive or defensive, the ones stressing legality, or rather political or military power, *etc.* – were used, which of them were the most effective and why, and also how much potential these had to actually change the political situation. It appears that arguments stressing the common values and interests of Livonians, including legality and stability, were the most effective if one tried to convince other Livonian powers, whereas those that tried to stress the might of foreign powers, were mostly unsuccessful. Additionally, it emerges that there was a strong will to resolve all these kinds of conflicts inside of Livonia, and that here was a firm opposition to the foreign intervention.

Two conflicts, the aforementioned Feud of Ösel-Wiek and the Coadjutor's Feud, will be compared in the next paper (Article III), which also gives a brief overview of political events between them. Here, the most important similarities and differences between these feuds are considered – especially possible causes, ambitions of the prime actors involved in these conflicts, and the actions and attitudes of other Livonian powers, including the Bishops. Although there were quite a few similarities between these two conflicts – e.g. Margrave Wilhelm participated actively in both of them – they were rather different phenomena, as the Feud of Ösel-Wiek was more clearly restricted within the borders of Livonia, while the outcome of the Coadjutor's Feud was decided by the intervention of the King of Poland. It appears clearly from both Articles II and III that the peaceful resolving of conflicts in Livonia were truly complicated, especially, if multiple crises occurred at the same time, like in the case of the Coadjutor's Feud.

The next two papers concentrate directly on the political actions of Livonian Bishops. Article IV discusses the nature of relations between Margrave Wilhelm (the Archbishop of Riga 1539–63) and the Bishops of Dorpat, and aims to clarify which were the most important factors that affected policies of the Bishops, as well as whether these were more or less persistent, or were they rather depending on concrete political events.<sup>12</sup> Here, the hypothesis is posed that Bishops' policies were driven by two main considerations: Firstly, by their interests and those of their territories, such as retaining their liberties, privileges, and prestige, and political freedom of action. Secondly, the Bishops were normally interested in the political stability and independence of Livonia as a political region, which assured them possibilities to play a significant part in politics, and thus they were usually ready to cooperate against the attempts of foreign influence or intervention. Thus, as the actions of the Bishops were concurrently influenced by private and regional interests, it follows that their

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<sup>12</sup> I have observed the same problems also in the relations between the Archbishop and the Bishop of Ösel-Wiek: Madis Maasing, "Saare-Lääne piiskop ja tema vaimulik isand. Põhijooni Johannes von Münchhauseni suhetest Riia peapiiskopi Wilhelmiga (1541–1560)", *Läänemaa muuseumi toimetised* XVI (2013), 55–87.

political agendas were rather short-sighted and dependent on certain political events, while there were no persistent alliances inside Livonia.

The relations between Archbishop and his suffragan bishops of Ermland (Polish *Warmia*) and Kulm (Polish *Chełmno*) in Prussia are discussed in Article V. As in the previous paper, this one also discusses the role and authority of the Archbishop towards his suffragans, and thus provides a comparative case to the relations between Livonian Bishops. As all these Bishops were suffragans (ecclesiastical subordinates) of the Archbishop – excluding the politically quite insignificant Bishop of Reval –, one should ask if that had any considerable weight in political relations, or in other words, did it give the Archbishop any opportunities to coerce his suffragans to support his political agenda? It seems that the answer to this question is rather negative, and all bishops acted in secular matters as equals. On the other hand, it appears also that if both the Archbishop and his suffragan (or suffragans) considered the subordinative relations useful for their political goals – like in the 1540s, when they opposed the ambitions of the Archbishop of Gniezno – then it was stressed by both sides.

The questions as to, which was the role of the religion in Livonian politics and especially which changes were caused by the Reformation are certainly important ones in the context of 16th-century Livonia. Many earlier studies have taken the view that the advent of Protestantism had a crucial role in the fatal weakening of medieval Livonia before the Livonian War, but this treatise, like the greater part of newer surveys, relativizes this view (see §1.4.5). As is shown in Article VI, Archbishop Wilhelm, who supported Protestantism, was unable to enforce the Lutheran church order in Livonia generally, but also in the Archbishopric in the 1540s – even though the Master of the Order and probably most of Livonian nobility were already supporting Protestantism. Thus, the causes for this were rather more political than religious, and the Archbishop probably had not planned his Reformation attempt only for religious grounds, but he wanted also to strengthen his political position. Additionally, it appears that the influence of the events in the Holy Roman Empire could have at least partially behind the failure of Archbishop's attempt, and similar plans for episcopal reformation also failed there. The question of religion is also posed in Article II, as the Feud of Ösel-Wiek has sometimes been considered a religious conflict between Catholics and Lutherans.<sup>13</sup> It appears, however, that due to the scarcity of confessional argumentation, one could hardly call it a religious conflict. The role of possible religious contradictions is also discussed in the relations of Livonian and Prussian bishops in Articles IV and V – as Archbishop Wilhelm was Protestant, but his suffragans, at least in Prussia, were Catholics. Thus, one could say that there are no significant signs of religion-based differences.

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<sup>13</sup> Paul Karge has labelled the Feud of Ösel-Wiek as Schmalkaldic War in Livonia (“Die religiösen, politischen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Strömungen in Riga 1530–1535”, *Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte*, 23 (1924–1926), 296–371, here 296).

There are also two topics that are not directly main subjects of any of the six papers, but are present in most of them, and crucial to the dissertation. Firstly, the central role of Margrave Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Ansbach, the last medieval Archbishop of Riga should be explained. During the years of 1530–63, the Margrave constantly participated in the most important political events in Livonia, communicated actively with other political powers, including Bishops, and his extensive correspondence with his brother, Duke Albrecht of Prussia, provides the best opportunity to study political events and relations which are relevant to the period and topics of this thesis. At the same time, much of his inner-Livonian politics still needs to be studied.<sup>14</sup> Some aspects are augmented here: I discuss his main political aims and undertakings, and why these generally failed: Such as the Feud of Ösel-Wiek (Articles II–III), initially the Coadjutor's Feud (Article III), and also his attempt to implement the Lutheran church order (Article VI). Deriving from the observations made concerning the religion, I claim that he probably was unsuccessful not for the reason that he supported Protestantism, but more likely because he was perceived as a stranger in Livonia: He originated from a German princely family – while other Livonian rulers came from the families of low nobility or even town burghers – and had powerful relatives and allies outside of Livonia (especially the Duke of Prussia and the King of Poland).

Lastly, I stress the importance of the Holy Roman Empire to understand Livonian politics. I consider Livonia as a peripheral part of the Empire (for the centre-periphery approach, see §1.3.3). In the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, relations between Livonia and the Empire increased considerably: Since the 1520s, all Livonian rulers received confirmation for their princely authority from the Emperor, and many central institutions of the Empire (Imperial Diet (German *Reichstag*), Imperial Chamber Court (German *Reichskammergericht*) and Aulic Council (German *Reichshofrat*)), and Imperial legislation affected Livonia increasingly (see also §1.4.6). In this dissertation, some relations between Livonia and the Empire are discussed: Article I observes Imperial demands of anti-Turkish aid from Livonia and the responses from the Livonians, while further articles consider the effects of Imperial legislation (especially Article II) and contemporaneous events in the Empire to Livonian politics (especially in Article VI).<sup>15</sup> In connection to Livonian Bishops, one could also pose the question: Who was more important as a legislator and juridical authority, or centre for them – the Pope or the Emperor? I would suppose that their importance was more or less of equal, but also not directly comparable, as the first confirmed ecclesiastical and the latter temporal power of the Bishops.

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<sup>14</sup> The most important work about Margrave Wilhelm is: Lange, *Zwischen Reformation und Untergang Alt-Livlands*, Vol. I–II, which mostly concentrates on his outer-Livonian affairs during the Russo-Livonian War. For further historiography, see §1.4.4. For publication *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland*, see §1.5.

<sup>15</sup> Additionally, I have studied the influence of Imperial Diets on Livonia and *vice versa*: Madis Maasing, “Livland und die Reichstage (1500–1555)”, *Livland – eine Region an der Peripherie im Austausch mit den Zentren Europas* [forthcoming].



### 1.3. Methodological and Theoretical Approaches

Next, I will observe theories regarding late medieval and early modern political communication (§1.3.1), networks (§1.3.2), and regionalist approaches (§1.3.3).

#### 1.3.1. Historical Political Communication

As with other sciences during the recent decades, history – and naturally also political history – has been affected by various theoretical and methodological “turns”, whose effect could be summarized as “postmodernist challenge”.<sup>16</sup> Probably the most important contribution of postmodernist criticism to history writing is to stress the need for self-reflexion on the part of the historian.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the validity of history as an academic discipline has been questioned by some radical critics who claim that historians are unable to present a truthful picture about the past, but are constructing only arbitrary and ineluctably ideological narratives that are indistinguishable from fiction.<sup>18</sup> However, more theoreticians seem to support the view that the notion of truth in history should not be abandoned, but its essence should be more precisely defined. According to Marek Tamm, this is bound with the fair intention of the historian to provide a truthful depiction of the past,<sup>19</sup> which is consolidated by theoretical and methodological objectivity controlled by fellow historians<sup>20</sup> and based on the sound evidence (i.e. sources).<sup>21</sup> Thus, historical truth is constructed

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<sup>16</sup> For a general overview of these “turns” in Estonian, see: *Humanitaarteaduste metoodoloogia. Uusi väljavaateid*, ed. Marek Tamm, Tallinn 2012, esp. 33–149. For the effect of postmodernism to history: *Historiography: critical concepts in historical studies*, Vol. 4, ed. Robert M. Burns, London etc 2006, 377–491; Beverley C. Southgate, *Postmodernism in History: Fear or Freedom?* London; New York 2003; Willie Thompson, *Postmodernism and history*, Houndmills etc 2004.

<sup>17</sup> *Inter alia*, it is stressed that historian should avoid anachronisms, although he or she cannot evade the effect of contemporary times and society. The latter include public mentality and interest, and funding decisions in sciences that depend largely on the contemporary context (for Estonia, see: Valter Lang, “Muinasmaastike avastamine. Essee mineviku tõlgendamisest ja ühiskondlikust tellimusest”, *Maastik ja mälu. Pärandiloomed arenguhooni Eestis*, Tallinn 2014, 36–78). For the effect of personal mentalities and convictions of historians cf. the opinion of Jacques Le Goff (*Kuidas kirjutatakse ajalugu?*, ed. Marek Tamm, Tallinn 2007, 141–142).

<sup>18</sup> Keith Jenkins, *Re-Thinking history*, London; New York 2003.

<sup>19</sup> To indicate this intention, the historian should make a tacit “truth pact” with his/her potential reader, which includes proving arguments with evidence (i.e. sources) and reasoning, and believing firmly in what he or she says. The author’s wish to really mean the “truth pact” is indicated with “marks of historicity”, of which the most important are footnotes, whereby the historical text can be verified or falsified (Marek Tamm, “Truth, Objectivity and Evidence in History Writing”, *Journal of the Philosophy of History*, 8 (2014), 265–290, here 271–278).

<sup>20</sup> Tamm, “Truth, Objectivity and Evidence”, 278–284.

<sup>21</sup> Evidence or source is constituted by a historian, in the moment he or she is using some object from the past (a document, an archaeological find, a work of art etc) for his or her

by historians, and possibly ever-changing (if current evidence is reinterpreted or new evidence is used), but it is still subjected to rigorous rules of objectivity that enable history writing to be and remain one of the academic disciplines.<sup>22</sup>

The current study is methodologically most influenced by an approach called “cultural history of the political” (German *Kulturgeschichte des politischen*), which is generally implementing when studying the early modern period. It turns the main attention to mentalities, ideas, symbols and rituals, and claims that without symbolical policy (which rests on these aspects), existence and implementation of political power would be impossible.<sup>23</sup> The basis for this claim is the stress on the central importance of communication, which is in the central place of the current dissertation, and this in turn is based on above mentioned social system theory of Niklas Luhmann. According to him, a social system, or society, is created, maintained and constantly recreated by the act of communication, during which a common sphere of information is formed, which is seen as the only bearer of society, and is in the same time ever-changing, self-constructing and -adjusting through the continuous communication.<sup>24</sup> Adherents of “cultural history of the political” derive from this that politics, as an element of society, is constantly maintaining, recreating and also imposing itself through various means of communication, including texts and symbolized actions.<sup>25</sup> During the process of communication, various phenomena (historical processes, events, persons, actions, *etc.*) obtain symbolic and value-laden meaning, which are often expressed in highly polemical terms and expressions<sup>26</sup> – including the ones used in the political rhetoric of Livonia (some examples from the “language” of the “Russian threat” are barbarians, enemies of Christendom, and *Antemurale Christianitatis*). These expressions are especially used and manifested in political correspondence to explain, defend, justify, or legitimize actions of political powers, and criticise their

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work. This process is not arbitrary, as historians must follow aforementioned rules of historical truthfulness and objectivity (Tamm, “Truth, Objectivity and Evidence”, 285–288). Carlo Ginzburg rejects in the same manner the extreme postmodernist idea that historical narrative cannot be distinguished from fiction, and stresses the importance of evidence (*History, rhetoric, and proof*, Hanover (N.H.): University Press of New England 1999).

<sup>22</sup> Tamm, “Truth, Objectivity and Evidence”, 289.

<sup>23</sup> *Was heisst Kulturgeschichte des Politischen?* Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung. Beiheft 25, ed. Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger., Berlin 2005; Thomas Mergel, “Kulturgeschichte der Politik, Version: 2.0”, *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 22.10.2012, URL: [http://docupedia.de/zg/Kulturgeschichte\\_der\\_Politik\\_Version\\_2.0\\_Thomas\\_Mergel?oldid=106446](http://docupedia.de/zg/Kulturgeschichte_der_Politik_Version_2.0_Thomas_Mergel?oldid=106446) (23.3.2016).

<sup>24</sup> For Luhmann’s theories, see: *Social systems*, Stanford 1995; *Theory of Society*, 2 vols, Stanford 2012–2013.

<sup>25</sup> Rainer Walz, “Der Begriff der Kultur in der Systemtheorie”, *Was heisst Kulturgeschichte des Politischen?*, 97–113.

<sup>26</sup> Mergel, “Kulturgeschichte der Politik”; Andreas Suter, “Kulturgeschichte des politischen – Chancen und Grenzen”, *Was heisst Kulturgeschichte des Politischen?*, 27–55, here 27–36; Frank Becker, “Begriff und Bedeutung des politischen Mythos”, *Was heisst Kulturgeschichte des Politischen?*, 129–148.

opponents' undertakings – as in the argumentation during the Feud of Ösel-Wiek (Article II).

Although generally derived from common regional, historical, or cultural context, the meanings of the elements of political rhetoric are practically always ambiguous: Different societal or political groups share different values and views on past events and persons, and these meanings are often reinterpreted or regulated, especially in times of conflicts.<sup>27</sup> Hence, it is very important to grasp not only the context, but also the intention of the creator (or beneficiary) of a political, however, how the text was interpreted by the addressee is of equal relevance.<sup>28</sup> From this it follows that sources cannot ever be taken for impartial reflectors of reality, as they contain both deliberate and unintentional deformations,<sup>29</sup> which at the same time hint at the mentality and ideology of their creators or beneficiaries – at least in the case of political correspondence. Thus, they have to be analysed thoroughly by elaborating on both the internal properties of a concrete source (intention, inner logic, usage of language *etc.*), and also careful examination of its context, including comparison with sources created in similar situations.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, these deformations in sources provide a good opportunity to study the mentalities and objectives of their creators or beneficiaries.<sup>31</sup> For this dissertation, it is especially the nature of the symbolical political language, and the bias in the sources that are of central importance – something that earlier, Order-centred surveys generally lacked (see §1.4.1).

### 1.3.2. Networks

In recent decades, historians have increasingly studied social networks, and while most methods of network analysis are made for quantitative analysis of so-called big data, the qualitative approach is also used,<sup>32</sup> especially if one

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<sup>27</sup> Reinterpretations are mostly caused by changes in political situation, or by reaction to the arguments of a political opponent (Suter, “Kulturgeschichte des politischen – Chancen und Grenzen”, especially 34–37, 51–55).

<sup>28</sup> Examples for the importance of the reactions of addressees: Suter, “Kulturgeschichte des politischen – Chancen und Grenzen”; Rudolf Schlögl, “Interaktion und Herrschaft. Probleme der politischen Kommunikation in der Stadt”, *Was heisst Kulturgeschichte des Politischen?*, 115–128.

<sup>29</sup> Carlo Ginzburg has compared sources with “distorted glass” (“Checking the Evidence: The Judge and the Historian”, *Critical Inquiry*, 18.1 (1991), 79–92, here 84), and has stated that: “Without thorough analysis of its inherent distortions (the codes according to which it has been constructed and/or it must be perceived), a sound historical reconstruction is impossible” (*ibid.*).

<sup>30</sup> For the baselines of the historical analysis and source criticism, see for example: Enn Tarvel, “Ajaloolase analüüsist”, *Ajaloolise tõe otsingul, II, Suur kunst metodoloogia*, Tallinn 2000, 113–126.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Ginzburg, *History, rhetoric, and proof*, 22–24.

<sup>32</sup> A general overview of social network analysis: Christina Prell, *Social network analysis: history, theory & methodology*, Los Angeles 2011. About historical analysis: <http://historicalnetworkresearch.org/> (23.3.2016); Charles Wetherell, “Historical Social Network Analysis”, *International Review of Social History* 43.6 (1998), 125–144.

studies non-contemporary history, where the data is often scarce and partial, and there is often enough information only for studying the elite groups.<sup>33</sup> The relationships between Livonian rulers can also be seen as a network – relations as its strands and actors as its knots –, but there are quite a few theoretical problems if one tries to relate them to any network theories. Carsten Jahnke has stated that actual networks should consist of a rather large group of people with complex linkages between them, and that bilateral relations do not form any actual network. Moreover, he argues that the same applies to personal or ego-networks that too often concentrate only on relations of a single individual – and thus actually only on the bilateral forms of communication.<sup>34</sup>

The relations studied here are mostly bilateral (between Margrave Wilhelm and the Bishops of Dorpat), or ego-centered (between the Archbishop of Riga and the Prussian Bishops), and no larger groups are given attention. Thus, if one follows Jahnke, one cannot speak of studying networks here. Nevertheless, although Wolfgang Reinhard's theory of *Verflechtung* (interdependence, linkage) is meant to study the formation and upholding of elite groups, like members of Roman curia, or a chapter (*Domkapitel*),<sup>35</sup> and not the relations of a limited regional set of rulers like here, I still think that with some modifications, several aspects of his approach are useful. Reinhard has given a typology of different informal relations between the members of an elite group: Kinship (*Verwandschaft*), common regional heritage (*Landmannschaft*), friendship (*Freundschaft*), and patronage.<sup>36</sup> It seems that from his typology, friendship and patronage could be seen as antonyms: The first denoting equal and the latter an unequal relationship between the actors<sup>37</sup> – and here the conceptual pair “equal-

<sup>33</sup> About problematics in historical networks analysis (including lack of sources, ever-changing nature of the relations that makes reconstructions of them mostly short-termed, and classification of different relations), see: *Die Grenzen des Netzwerks, 1200–1600*, ed. Kerstin Hitzbleck and Klara Hübner, Ostfildern 2014. For further examples of medieval and early modern studies, see: *Netzwerke im europäischen Handel des Mittelalters* (Vorträge und Forschungen 72), ed. Gerhard Fouquet and Hans-Jörg Gilomen, Ostfildern 2010; *Zentrum und Netzwerk. Kirchliche Kommunikationen und Raumstrukturen im Mittelalter* (Scriinium Fiburgense, 22), ed. Gisela Drossbach and Hans-Joachim Schmidt, Berlin; New York 2008.

<sup>34</sup> “Handelsnetze im Ostseeraum”, *Netzwerke im europäischen Handel des Mittelalters*, 189–212, here 189–190; “Moderne Netzwerkforschung in der regionalen Hansegeschichte: Möglichkeiten, Gefahren und Perspektiven”, *Hansegeschichte als Regionalgeschichte. Beiträge einer internationalen und interdisziplinären Winterschule in Greifswald vom 20. bis 24. Februar 2012* (Kieler Werkstücke Reihe A: Beiträge zur schleswig-holsteinischen und skandinavischen Geschichte 37), ed. Oliver Auge, Frankfurt am Main 2014, 47–58, here 48.

<sup>35</sup> Reinhard has studied the curia (*Papstfinanz und Nepotismus unter Paul V. (1605–1621): Studien und Quellen zur Struktur und zu quantitativen Aspekten des päpstlichen Herrschaftssystems* (Päpste und Papsttum 6), Vol. 1–2, Stuttgart 1974). Of chapters, see e.g. Gerhard Fouquet's study of the chapter of Speyer (*Das Speyerer Domkapitel im späten Mittelalter (ca. 1350–1540). Adlige Freundschaft, fürstliche Patronage und päpstliche Klientel* (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Kirchengeschichte 57), Vol. 1–2, Mainz 1987, esp. 203–210).

<sup>36</sup> Reinhard, *Freunde und Kreaturen*.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *idem*, 37–38 and 74–76.

unequal” is used instead of “friendship-patronage”. Additionally, Reinhard’s notion on the importance of kinship in historical social networks is accepted here, and, as mentioned above, it especially applies to Margrave Wilhelm and his powerful relatives. When regarding regional aspects, the emphasis of this dissertation is not on common heritage, like in Reinhard’s theory, but on shared regional interests of Livonian rulers.

### 1.3.3. Regionalism and Its Variations

One of the most important theoretical changes in recent political history is probably the switch from nation-state centred perspectives to those, which are not fixed to the present political phenomena, and thus allow more effectively to concentrate on the specifics of each historical period in their own context. One of them is regional perspective, which sees certain territories as primarily mentally constructed regions, that are most importantly based on common identity, but also helped by other unifying characteristics, including geography, economy, and demography; but also by differentiating an area, or group – “Us” – from Other(s), like Livonians vs. Russians.<sup>38</sup> This perspective has recently gained increasing attention on the coast of the Baltic Sea,<sup>39</sup> although it could be said that medieval Livonia was regarded as a historical region already in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, as Baltic German historians wrote predominately territory-centred history, or *Landesgeschichte*.<sup>40</sup> This perspective has also not been abandoned today,<sup>41</sup> and the current dissertation considers Livonia as a historical region with its common regional identity, which was expressed in

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<sup>38</sup> *Regional and Transnational History in Europe. A Cliohworld reader*, 8, ed. Steven G. Ellis, Iakovos Michailidis, Pisa 2011; *European Review of History – Revue européenne d’Histoire*, 10.2 (2003); Iver B. Neumann, “A region-building approach to Northern Europe”, *Review of International Studies* 20 (1994), 53–74.

<sup>39</sup> Michael North, *The Baltic: A History*, Cambridge (Mass.): London 2015; *Nordosteuropa als Geschichtsregion: Beiträge des III. Internationalen Symposiums zur deutschen Kultur und Geschichte im europäischen Nordosten vom 20.–22. September 2001 in Tallinn (Estland)* (Aue-säätiön julkaisu 17), ed. Jörg Hackmann and Robert Schweitzer, Lübeck 2006; *Geschichte, Politik und Kultur im Ostseeraum* (The Baltic Sea region: northern dimensions - European perspectives 12), ed. Jan Hecker-Stampehl and Bernd Henningsen, Berlin 2012; *Hansegeschichte als Regionalgeschichte; Ajalooline Ajakiri*, 1/2 (139/140), 2012 (Special issue for Baltic Regionalism), and 3 (153), 2015 (Special issue for Baltic-Nordic Regionalism).

<sup>40</sup> Leonid Arbusow sen., *Grundriß der Geschichte Liv, Est- und Kurlands*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, ed. by Leonid Arbusow jun., Riga 1918. For the term *Landesgeschichte* and its compatibility with regional history, see: *Schriftkultur und Landesgeschichte: Studien zum südlichen Ostseeraum vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Matthias Thumser, Köln 1997.

<sup>41</sup> For medieval Livonia as a region, see e.g.: *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland* (Schriften der Baltischen historischen Kommission, 18), ed. Matthias Thumser, Berlin 2011; Alexander Drost, “Historische Grenzräume im Ostseeraum: Livland. Borderland-Theorien und kulturelle Schichten”, *Die Neuerfindung des Raumes*, ed. Alexander Drost, Michael North, Köln [etc] 2013, 113–141.

political communication and emerges from political actions, and manifests itself also through the functioning of Livonian Diet.

As medieval Livonia was situated on the border of Western and Eastern Christendom, the “Borderland theory”, which connotes contacts and cooperation and is often connected with an interdisciplinary approach,<sup>42</sup> also seems to be useful here. According to this theory, a Borderland could have various meanings: It could be a contact zone between different cultural or ethnic groups, or political powers, such as Livonians and Russians.<sup>43</sup> In this dissertation, the notion of Borderland seems to be useful in connection with the study of the “Russian threat” rhetoric of Livonians (in Article I). This could be also connected to other “border nations” of Late Medieval and Early Modern Western Christendom, who often depicted themselves as protective shield of Christendom, *Antemurale Christianitatis*, against threatening infidel or schismatic barbarians. Research of these depictions has gained increasing popularity recently,<sup>44</sup> and it seems reasonable to compare also Livonia with these areas in the future. In addition to the outer borders of a cultural unit, the Borderland

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<sup>42</sup> For the concept of Borderland: David J. Weber, “Turner, the Boltonians, and the Borderlands”, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 91.1 (1986), 66–81; Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, “From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History”, *The American Historical Review*, 104.3 (1999), 814–841; *Die Neuerfindung des Raumes*. For 13th-century Livonia, the “Frontier thesis” of Frederick Jackson Turner has also been used, see, e.g.: William Urban, “The frontier thesis and the Baltic Crusade”, *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier*, ed. Alan V. Murray. Aldershot, 2001, 45–71. For the 16<sup>th</sup> century, this thesis is not suitable, as Livonia was clearly a part of Western Christian Europe then, and not its “wild frontier” that one had yet to “Europeanize”.

<sup>43</sup> About Livonia, see the works of Anti Selart: *Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic crusades in the thirteenth century*, Leiden; Boston 2015; “Zur Sozialgeschichte der Ostgrenze Estlands im Mittelalter”, *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 47.4 (1998), 520–543.

<sup>44</sup> For Livonia, see especially “Eynne Schonne hysthorie van vunderlyken gescheffthen der heren tho lyfflanth myth den Rüssen vnde tartaren”, *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands* 8 (1861), 115–180; Carl Schirren, “Erläuterungen zur Schonnen Hysthorie.”, *idem*, 113–144 and 180–225. For depictions of “evil Others” from the Livonian perspective, see especially: Selart, “Political Rhetoric and the Edges of Christianity”. For other regions, see, e.g.: Nora Berend, “Frontiers of Christendom: The Endurance of Medieval and Modern Constructs”, *Das Sein der Dauer* (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 34), ed. Andreas Speer and David Wirmer, Berlin, 2008, 27–40; Paul Srodecki, *Antemurale Christianitatis: zur Genese der Bollwerksrhetorik im östlichen Mitteleuropa an der Schwelle vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit* (Historische Studien 508), Husum 2015; Paul Wedell Knoll, “Poland as ‘Antemurale Christianitatis’ in the Late Middle Ages”, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 60.3 (1974), 381–401; Wiktor Weintraub, “Renaissance Poland and ‘Antemurale Christianitatis’”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 3/4.2 (1980), 920–930; Nora Berend, *At the gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and “Pagans” in medieval Hungary, c.1000 – c.1300*, Cambridge 2001; Małgorzata Morawiec, “‘Antemurale christianitatis’. Polen als Vormauer des christlichen Europa”, *Jahrbuch für europäische Geschichte*, 2 (2001), 249–260; János J. Varga, “Europa und “Die Vormauer des Christentums”: Die Entwicklungsgeschichte eines geflügelten Wortes”, *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann, Tübingen 2000, 55–63.

theory could be used regarding internal borders of a cultural or political unit (such as local political borderlines, social boundaries between the Estates (*Stände*), or ethnic ones between different peoples) also in Livonia.<sup>45</sup> In Livonian politics, the firmest borderline probably ran between the Order and the Archbishop in the question as to who should be the leading power, but even that border was not only and exclusively a separative one, but cooperation between these was possible – thus, it affirms the notion expressed in Borderland theories that borderlines were always changing and more or less relative.<sup>46</sup>

Another approach connected to regionalism, as well as to Borderlands theory, seems to be fruitful in the Livonian context, namely that of centre and periphery – Livonia can be seen as situated on the outer edge of Western Christian Europe, but also to the Hanseatic League.<sup>47</sup> Regarding the current dissertation, the centre-periphery relation between Livonia and the Holy Roman Empire is the most important. As stated above (§1.2), Livonia can be described as a loosely connected part of the Empire, and thus it is useful to pay attention to Peter Moraw's concept of *Königs-*, or *Reichsnähe*, and *Königs-* or *Reichsferne*, which formulates criteria which enable one to measure the intensity of a region (its elite(s), ruler(s), or political structures) to the central institutions of the Empire.<sup>48</sup> This enables one to assess how intensive the connections were that a region had to the central institutions of the Empire and compare the "closeness" of different peripheral regions to the Imperial centre.<sup>49</sup> But the perspective of centre and periphery could be applied also to the local level: The Archbishop of Riga could be seen as at least a formal and authoritative centre for other Bishops, while competition between various centres or would-be centres could be also noted – between Riga and the Order for dominion in

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<sup>45</sup> Drost, "Historische Grenzräume im Ostseeraum".

<sup>46</sup> Alexander Drost, Michael North, "Die Neuerfindung des Raumes. Eine Einleitung", *Die Neuerfindung des Raumes*, 9–17.

<sup>47</sup> Patrick Geary, "Reflections on Historiography and the Holy Center and Periphery", *The making of Christian myths in the periphery of Latin christendom (c. 1000–1300)*, ed. Lars Boje Mortensen, Copenhagen, 2006, 323–329; Nils Blomkvist, "The Europeanisation of the Baltic. A clear case of qualitative change", *The plurality of Europe. Identities and spaces*, ed. Winfried Eberhard and Christian Lübke, Leipzig 2010, 115–122; Norbert Angermann, "Die Stellung der livländischen Städte in der hansischen Gemeinschaft", *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 113 (1995), 111–125. About the problematic of centre and periphery, see also: Jörg Hackmann, "Peripherie oder Mittelpunkt? Die baltische Region in der Geschichte des Ostseeraums", *Geschichte, Politik und Kultur im Ostseeraum*, 145–168.

<sup>48</sup> Peter Moraw, "Franken als königsnahe Landschaft im späten Mittelalter", *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 112 (1976), 123–138; Bernd Schneidmüller, "Reichsnähe – Königsferne: Goslar, Braunschweig und das Reich im späten Mittelalter", *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 64 (1992), 1–52.

<sup>49</sup> See, e.g.: *Die Integration des südlichen Ostseeraumes in das Alte Reich* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Höchsten Gerichtsbarkeit im Alten Reich, 35), ed. Nils Jörn and Michael North, Köln [etc] 2000. There, Livonian activities in Imperial courts are compared with Northern German regions: Bernhard Diestelkamp, "Die Reichsgerichtsbarkeit in den Ostseeländern", *idem*, 13–38.

Livonia, and between Riga and Gniezno for metropolitanship over Prussian bishops.<sup>50</sup>

## 1.4. Historiography

Firstly, I will discuss the positions and tendencies of Baltic German researchers in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as that forms the general basis for later research. Thereafter, I will observe in more detail the literature about topics discussed in the dissertation, whereby I pay most attention to the positions of current historiography, which often reassess the viewpoints of early Baltic German studies.

### 1.4.1. Early Baltic German Research and Later General Tendencies

The academic study of medieval Livonia began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and through to the 1920s it was dominated by Baltic Germans.<sup>51</sup> The first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was considered important by them because it was firstly seen as the time of introduction and consolidation of the Reformation, which has been a cornerstone of predominantly Lutheran Baltic German identity, and secondly as the final stage of the “time of independence” for local “German states”. Thus, one can be hardly surprised that the main attention was paid to the introduction of the Reformation (until the death of the Livonian Land Master Wolter von Plettenberg in 1535), and to the collapse of the Livonian political structures during the Russo-Livonian War.<sup>52</sup> From their works the standpoint also originates that the period between 1535 and 1558 was politically and culturally decadent, as they stated that the Reformation had undermined the legitimacy of Livonian ecclesiastical rulers, and society lost most of its sense of duty, which concluded with the collapse in the beginning of the war.<sup>53</sup> The majority of these

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<sup>50</sup> This also applies also well to the perspective that the Medieval Church as a whole was multi-centred, or there was at least competition between would-be centres: Hans-Joachim Schmidt, “Einleitung: Zentrum und Netzwerk. Metaphern für kirchliche Organisationsformen im hohen und im späten Mittelalter”, *Zentrum und Netzwerk. Kirchliche Kommunikationen und Raumstrukturen im Mittelalter*, 7–40.

<sup>51</sup> For general tendencies in the Baltic Region: *National History and Identity. Approaches to the Writing of National History in the North-East Baltic Region Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Studia Fennica Ethnologica, 6), ed. Michael Branch, Helsinki 1999. About Estonian historiography: Tiit Rosenberg, “Eesti ajalugu – kas rahvusajalugu, maa-ajalugu või regionaalajalugu?”, *Rahvusvahelised rahvusteadused*, ed. Tiit Hennoste, Tartu 2014, 19–39.

<sup>52</sup> For a general overview of Baltic German historiography, see: *Geschichte der Deutsch-baltischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Georg von Rauch, Köln; Wien 1986.

<sup>53</sup> This perspective was probably most influenced by the famous Chronicle of Balthasar Russow written during the Livonian War that substantiated the “Livonian catastrophe” with the previous unconcerned attitude and immoral lifestyle of the Livonians (*Chronica. Der*



researchers also regarded the Order as being the dominant and most positive or “progressive” power in Livonia – it was perceived as the only centralizing power in Livonia that tried to establish “Livonian unity” (German *livländische Einheit*) to fight against external threats, especially the Russian one. Bishops as inner-Livonian opponents of the Order were thus generally seen negatively: As pursuing their egoistic and particular goals which were harmful to the common interests of Livonia.<sup>54</sup>

Since the 1920s, interest in the political history of Medieval Livonia diminished considerably, as the Baltic Germans lost their leading position in Estonia and Latvia. The first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was not studied intensively by Estonian or Latvian national historians before the Second World War nor Soviet-era researchers thereafter.<sup>55</sup> This also meant that many viewpoints of

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*Provinz Lyfflandt, darinne vermeldet werdt. Wo dath sülvige Landt ersten gefunden, unde thom Christendome gebracht ys: Wol de ersten Regenten des Landes gewesen sind: van dem ersten Meyster Düdesches Ordens in Lyfflandt beth up den lesten, unde van eines ydtliken Daden. Wat sick in der voranderinge der Lyfflendischen Stende, und na der tydt beth in dat negeste 1583. Jar, vor seltzame und wünderlike Gescheffte im Lande tho gedragen hebben: nütte unde angenehme tho lesende korth und loffwerdich beschreven. Dorch. Balthasar Russowen Revaliensem. Thom andern mal mith allem flyte anersehen, corrigeret, vorbetert, und mith velen Historien vormehret dorch den Autorem sülvest. Barth: A. Seitner, 1584, esp. 27b–35a). About the chronicler: Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Balthasar Rüssow als Humanist und Geschichtsschreiber* (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, 14), Köln; Weimar; Wien 1996.*

<sup>54</sup> An Order-friendly general narrative is: Arbusow, *Grundriß der Geschichte Liv, Est- und Kurlands*; and an expressively pro-Order example: Paul Girgensohn, “Die Inkorporationspolitik des Deutschen Ordens in Livland 1378–1397”, *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands*, 20 (1910), 1–86, esp. 3–4. An exception was Johannes Haller, who supported Bishops instead (“Die Verschwörung von Segewold (1316)”, *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands*, 20 (1910), 125–168, esp. 148–151), and another Paul Karge, whose “hero” was Margrave Wilhelm (about him §1.4.4). Cf. Klaus Neitmann, “Um die Einheit Livlands. Der Griff des Ordensmeisters Bernd von Borch nach dem Erzstift Riga um 1480”, *Deutsche im Nordosten Europas*, ed. Hans Rothe, Köln 1991, 109–137, here 129–133; Henrike Bolte, “Die livländischen Bistümer im Spätmittelalter. Bedeutung und Forschungsinteresse am Beispiel ihrer Besetzung”, *Leonid Arbusow (1882–1951) und die Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Livland*, 209–227, here 210–212; Lange, *Zwischen Reformation und Untergang Alt-Livlands*, 17–23.

<sup>55</sup> About Estonian national historiography: Kristi Kukk, *Väikerahvuste ajalookäsitluste genees ja narratiivid: Eesti võrdluses teiste Põhjala ja Baltikumi mittedominantsete rahvustega 19. sajandist kuni Teise maailmasõjani* (Dissertationes historiae Universitatis Tartuenssis, 32), Tartu, 2013. For Latvian national historiography: Kristi Kukk, “Ein noch schwererer Fall von Amnesie? Die lettische nationale Geschichtsschreibung vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg in vergleichender Perspektive”, *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte*, 7 (2012), 106–119; Kaspars Kļaviņš, “The Baltic Enlightenment and perceptions of Medieval Latvian history”, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 29.3 (1998), 213–224. For Soviet-era historiography in Estonia: Jaan Undusk, “Retooriline sund eesti nõukogude ajalookirjutuses”, *Võim ja kultuur*, Tartu 2003, 41–68; Hain Rebas, “Dependence and Opposition. Problems in Soviet Estonian Historiography in the Late 1940s and Early 1950s”, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 36.4 (2005), 423–448. However, at the end of the Soviet era, Jüri Kivimäe was engaged with the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (“Narva und Ivangorod: Handel und

Baltic German researchers from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century remained largely uncontested for a long time. During recent decades, interest in the political history of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Livonia has been renewed, while it has also become more international.<sup>56</sup> Contemporary researchers have also problematized a number of positions posed by early Baltic German researchers, such as the myth of “decadence” after 1535,<sup>57</sup> although many of their achievements, especially their source publications, and pioneering works on political factology and the Reformation are still highly, and probably also rightfully, praised.<sup>58</sup>

#### 1.4.2. Rhetoric, Argumentation, and the “Russian Threat”

Most of the historiography about the rhetoric and argumentation in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Livonia concerns the beginning of the depiction of the Russians during the Livonian War.<sup>59</sup> Apart from the research on the propaganda text *Eynne schonne hysthorie* (1508), which started already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>60</sup> political rhetoric of earlier times has gained more attention only recently.<sup>61</sup> Of these, the most important for this dissertation are the studies from Anti Selart that discuss the

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Politik an der Schwelle zur Frühneuzeit”, *Die Deutschen in der UdSSR in Geschichte und Gegenwart: ein internationaler Beitrag zur deutsch-sowjetischen Verständigung*. Baden-Baden, 1990, 17–27; “Narva küsimus Liivi ordu poliitikas aastail 1494–1535”, *ENSV TA Toimetised. Ühiskonnateadused*, 30.1 (1981), 29–42; 30.2 (1981), 179–192).

<sup>56</sup> The Baltic German tradition has lasted and modernized in Germany. For now, most of the researchers of Livonian history have no Baltic heritage (Gert von Pistohlkors, “Pölvkonnad baltisaksa ajalookirjutuses aastail 1919–2009”, *Tuna* 2 (2010), 34–47). In Russia, the tradition of studying Baltic history is long (Tiit Rosenberg, “Die russische baltische Historiographie in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts”, *Estland und Russland. Aspekte der Beziehungen beider Länder* (Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 11), ed. Olaf Mertelsmann, Hamburg 2005, 77–108). Lastly, interest towards it has also increased. Currently, the most important researchers of the Livonian 16<sup>th</sup> century are Aleksandr Filjuškin, who concentrates on the Livonian War (e.g. *Ivan the Terrible: a military history*, London 2008), and Marina Bessudnova, who deals mostly with the period of Wolter von Plettenberg. She has recently published an article which also has an comparative overview of past (Baltic) German and Russian historiography about 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century Livonian-Russian relations: “Groß-Novgorod zwischen Livland und Moskau um die Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert”, *Die baltischen Länder und Europa in der frühen Neuzeit* (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 26), ed. Norbert Angermann, Karsten Brüggemann, and Inna Pöltsam-Jürjo, Köln etc 2015, 67–103, here esp. 67–70.

<sup>57</sup> *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*; Neitmann, “Um die Einheit Livlands”.

<sup>58</sup> A good example is: *Leonid Arbusow (1882–1951) und die Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Livland*.

<sup>59</sup> For relevant literature, see Article I, 348, footnote 4.

<sup>60</sup> See: *idem*, footnote 5.

<sup>61</sup> For political rhetoric and propaganda in medieval Livonia from the 13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, see, e.g.: *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*. For the 13<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, see: Selart, *Livonia, Rus', and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century*.

depiction of outer-Livonian enemies in Livonian sources, and especially his paper “Political Rhetoric and the Edges of Christianity”, which discusses the depiction of “unchristian enemies”: Russians, Lithuanians, and Tatars in Livonian sources in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and that inspired the first article of this study.<sup>62</sup> His surveys reveal that depictions of external enemies were used mostly against fellow Western Christian rivals in Livonia (e.g., they were accused of cooperation with “unchristians”), and that this kind of rhetoric was generally directed to potential external allies or higher authorities like the Pope and the Emperor.<sup>63</sup> Although the works of Selart mostly concentrate on earlier times than the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the main baselines seem also to apply to the decades that are of particular interest to this thesis. My paper, which gives an overview of the usage of “Russian threat” rhetoric in the letters of Margrave Wilhelm, provides quite similar results for the 1530s and 1540s, and maintains that only from the end of the latter decade did the Livonians genuinely start to worry about a possible Russian invasion.<sup>64</sup>

### 1.4.3. Political Institutions, Relations, and Events

The Livonian Order is certainly the best-researched political institution of Medieval Livonia: It is the only one that has a decent overview of its administration,<sup>65</sup> and there are many quite contemporary studies concerning the rule of Master Wolter von Plettenberg (1494–1535).<sup>66</sup> In recent decades the political administration, organization and internal relations of the Order have been also examined in the decades after Plettenberg: Especially by Juhan Kreem,<sup>67</sup> but also by others.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> “Political Rhetoric and the Edges of Christianity”. For other relevant works from Selart, see: Article I, 386–387, and: “Der livländische Deutsche Orden und Russland”, *L’Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico. Incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli e culture* (Acta Theutonica 5), ed. Herman Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg, Galatina 2008, 253–287; “Johann Blankenfeld und Russland”, *Die baltischen Länder und Europa in der frühen Neuzeit*, 105–129.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. again the works of Anti Selart, especially: “Political Rhetoric and the Edges of Christianity”; “The use and uselessness of the chronicle of Henry of Livonia in the Middle Ages”, *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, ed. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi, and Carsten Selch Jensen, Farnham 2011, 345–361; *Livonia, Rus’, and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century*.

<sup>64</sup> Madis Maasing, “«Русская опасность» в письмах Рижского Архиепископа Вильгельма за 1530–1550 гг.”, *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana*, 7.1 (2010), 184–194.

<sup>65</sup> Bernhart Jähniß, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner Herrschaft in Livland* (Schriften der Baltischen historischen Kommission 16), Berlin 2011.

<sup>66</sup> Wolter von Plettenberg – *der größte Ordensmeister Livlands* (Schriftenreihe Nordost-Archiv 21), ed. Norbert Angermann, Lüneburg 1985; *Wolter von Plettenberg und das mittelalterliche Livland* (Schriften der Baltischen historischen Kommission 7), ed. Norbert Angermann and Ilgvars Misāns, Lüneburg 2001.

<sup>67</sup> For understading the administration and functioning of the Order, perhaps the most important of his many works are: “Der Deutsche Orden in 16. Jahrhundert. Die Spätzeit

As mentioned in the beginning, contemporary works strongly problematize the earlier Order-centred perspective. The Order's claims to fight for "common good" and "Livonian unity" are considered now to be propagandistic and aimed to achieve support for clearly egoistic ambitions that were often harmful to other Livonians.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, it seems that the Order did not have real possibilities to achieve domination in Livonia. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it had serious problems with internal integrity, as its high officials (German *Gebietiger*) acted increasingly independently from the Master,<sup>70</sup> and the Order also clearly did not dominate over the Bishops: Even in Prussia the Order normally did not intervene in their internal matters, but was satisfied with control over their foreign policies.<sup>71</sup> In 16th-century Livonia, the influence of the Order on the Bishoprics was far from complete. Although the capitulars (German *Domherren*) of Riga and Courland had to be priest brothers (German *Priesterbrüder*) of the Teutonic Order,<sup>72</sup> they and also their bishops (who were mostly elected amongst the first)

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einer geistlichen Adelskorporation in Livland", *Leonid Arbusow (1882–1951) und die Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Livland*, 287–296; "Der Gehorsam der Gebietiger gegenüber dem livländischen Meister im 16. Jahrhundert", *Die Ritterorden als Träger der Herrschaft: Territorien, Grundbesitz und Kirche* (Ordines militares. Colloquia Torunensia historica 14), ed. Roman Czaja, and Jürgen Sarnowsky, Toruń 2007, 115–125; "Der Deutsche Orden in Livland im 16. Jahrhundert: Einige Betrachtungen zur Entwicklung seines Personalbestandes", *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands. Zeitschrift für vergleichende und preußisch*, 51 (2009), 77–89; "Der Deutsche Orden in Livland unter Hermann von Brüggenei: Bemerkungen zu Regierungspraxis und Religionspolitik", *Die Ritterorden in Umbruchs- und Krisenzeiten* (Ordines militares. Colloquia Torunensia historica, 16), ed. Roman Czaja, and Jürgen Sarnowsky, Toruń 2011, 303–315; "Netzwerke um Jasper von Munster. Der Deutsche Orden während der livländischen Koadjutorfehde im Jahre 1556", *Ordines militares: Colloquia Torunensia Historica*, 19 (2014), 73–86.

<sup>68</sup> Of these, probably the most important ones are from Klaus Neitmann ("Die Spätzeit des Deutschen Ordens in Livland im Spiegel der "Livländischen Güterurkunden"", *Aus der Geschichte Alt-Livlands: Festschrift für Heinz von zur Mühlen zum 90. Geburtstag* (Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, 12), ed. Bernhart Jähnig and Klaus Militzer, Münster 2004, 285–337) and Johannes A. Mol ("Traitor to Livonia? The Teutonic Order's land marshal Jasper von Munster and his actions at the outset of the Livonian crisis, 1554–1556", *Ordines militares: Colloquia Torunensia Historica*, 19 (2014), 205–240).

<sup>69</sup> Bolte, "Die livländischen Bistümer im Spätmittelalter. Bedeutung und Forschungsinteresse am Beispiel ihrer Besetzung"; Kreem, "Der Deutsche Orden in 16. Jahrhundert. Die Spätzeit einer geistlicher Adelskorporation in Livland".

<sup>70</sup> Bernhart Jähnig, "Die Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens in Livland zur Zeit Wolters von Plettenberg", *Wolter von Plettenberg und das mittelalterliche Livland*, 73–84; Klaus Neitmann, "Rat und Ratsgebietiger Wolters von Plettenberg. Beobachtungen zum Regierungs- und Verwaltungsstil des Ordensmeisters", *idem*, 85–111; Kreem, "Der Gehorsam der Gebietiger gegenüber dem livländischen Meister im 16. Jahrhundert".

<sup>71</sup> Brigitte Poschmann, "Bistümer und Deutscher Orden in Preußen 1243–1525: Untersuchung zur Verfassung und Verwaltungsgeschichte des Ordensstaates", *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 30 (1966), 227–356.

<sup>72</sup> For the "incorporation policy" of the Order, see: Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung*, 76–98; Mario Glauert, "Die Bindung des Domkapitels von Riga an die Regel des Deutschen Ordens", *Die Domkapitel des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen und Livland, Zeitschrift für die*

were rarely willing to fulfil the demands of the Order, and maintained their temporal power, which is clearly manifested by the fact that all Livonian Bishops became Imperial Princes in 1520–21.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, all of the Order's attempts to achieve domination in Livonia with radical methods (military coercion or political manipulations) ultimately failed.<sup>74</sup>

Apart from the surveys about the Order, there are also some shorter treatises about other powers and territories, of which Pärtel Piirimäe's paper about the political structures of the Bishopric of Dorpat is the most relevant to the current study.<sup>75</sup> Piirimäe has also studied – briefly and comparatively – internal structures of all Livonian territories, and maintains that the political system in Livonian Bishoprics was clearly dualistic, as political power was shared between the Bishop and his Estates, of whom the most eminent seem to be the vassals.<sup>76</sup> This statement harmonizes with the observation of Thomas Lange: The Livonian Order was not able to make over-Livonian decisions, especially in the foreign politics, without the consent of other territorial lords, and likewise in the Archbishopric, the Archbishop had to cooperate with their Estates.<sup>77</sup> The latter evaluation can be expanded also to the relations between other Bishops and their Estates.<sup>78</sup>

Piirimäe's most significant contribution to Livonian political history is, however, the research of the Plettenberg-era Livonian Diet. He has stated that instead of "Livonian unity" or unity inside one Estate (such as nobility), political solidarity was rather based on territory (e.g., the vassals of Dorpat normally cooperated with the Bishop, the capitulars, and the town of Dorpat, rather than other Livonian vassals), and that there was mainly a balance of power in Livo-

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*Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands*, Beiheft 17, ed. Radosław Biskup and Mario Glauert, Münster 2004, 269–316.

<sup>73</sup> Hermann Hildebrand, *Die Arbeiten für das liv-, est- und kurländische Urkundenbuch im Jahre 1875/76*, Riga, 1877, 93–98.

<sup>74</sup> E.g., subjugating bishops under the protectorate of the Master in the 1520s (Paul Karge, "Die Berufung des Markgrafen Wilhelm zum Koadjutor des Rigaschen Erzbischofs. Ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte", *Baltische Monatsschrift*, 61 (1906), 117–156), trying to intervene in the elections of all Livonian bishops in the 1540s (Article IV), or removing the Archbishop from his post during the Coadjutor's Feud (Article III).

<sup>75</sup> "Ständischer Dualismus und territoriale Verselbständigung. Über der Verfassung des Bistums Dorpat im letzten Jahrhundert Alt-Livlands", *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Dorpat*, Tartu 1998, 38–62.

<sup>76</sup> "Riik, maaisandad ja seisused. Varauusaegsete võimustruktuuride kujunemisest Vana-Liivimaa piiskopkondades", *Kleio*, 13 (1995), 16–25. See also: *Idem*, *Maaisandad, seisused ja maapäev: Vana-Liivimaa riiklustest Wolter von Plettenbergi perioodil (1494–1535)*, magisterial thesis, Tartu 1998. Manuscript in the University of Tartu Library.

<sup>77</sup> Lange, *Zwischen Reformation und Untergang Alt-Livlands*, 100–101. See also: Norbert Angermann, Thomas Lange, "Am vorabend des Livländischen Krieges: Die Positionen der politischen Hauptkräfte Livlands gegenüber Russland", *Балтийский вопрос в конце XV–XVI в.: сборник научных статей*, ред. Александр И. Филишкин, Москва 2010, 32–39.

<sup>78</sup> See e.g.: Piirimäe, "Ständischer Dualismus und territoriale Verselbständigung"; Madis Maasing, "Rahutu Saare-Lääne piiskopkond: piiskopid, aadelkond ja kapiitel 1520.–1540. aastatel", *Läänemaa muuseumi toimetised XV* (2012), 22–42.

nia, as the Diet was summoned by both the Master of the Order and the Archbishop.<sup>79</sup> His observations also seem to be valid for later decades.

Of relations between Livonian rulers, the best studied is the most conflicting of them: Between the Livonian Order and the Archbishop, although from the years of 1535 to 1555, it has not yet been thoroughly investigated.<sup>80</sup> Considerably less attention is paid to the relations between the Order and other Bishops, although Henrike Bolte has recently studied these from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>81</sup> However, the relations between Bishops themselves, including one of the main topics of the current dissertation: The relationship between the Archbishop and other Livonian bishops, have been practically unexamined until now (see Article IV).<sup>82</sup> The relations between the Metropolitan of Riga and his Prussian suffragans has been discussed somewhat, but lastly before this study (in Article V) over 70 years ago, and by stressing German-Polish contradictions, which were not the centre of the dispute in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>83</sup>

Like the political relations, the events of the 1530s to the 1550s have also not been thoroughly studied. The best researched of them is the Feud of Ösel-Wiek, which has been studied from various perspectives, and seems now to be valued as a conflict over power relations inside Ösel-Wiek, and the ambitions of Margrave Wilhelm.<sup>84</sup> Another conflict, the Coadjutor's Feud, has not received

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<sup>79</sup> *Maaisandad, seisused ja maapäev*; “Staatenbund oder Ständestaat? Der livländische Landtag im Zeitalter Wolters von Plettenberg”, *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 8 (2013), 40–80.

<sup>80</sup> There are some works that discuss the topic (e.g., Lange, *Zwischen Reformation und Untergang Alt-Livlands*), but there are none that especially focus on that.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. her works: “Die livländischen Bistümer im Spätmittelalter”; “Einsetzung und Herrschaftsübernahme der Bischöfe von Dorpat, Ösel und Kurland”, *Potestas et communitas: interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Wesen und Darstellung von Herrschaftsverhältnissen im Mittelalter östlich der Elbe*, ed. Sébastien Rossignol, Aleksander Paron, Bartolomiej Szymon Szmoniewski, and Grischa Vercamer, Wrocław; Warszawa 2010, 245–258 ; “Spätmittelalterliche Bistumsbesetzungen im Spiegel der kurialen Überlieferung: das Beispiel Livland”, *Friedensnobelpreis und historische Grundlagenforschung: Ludwig Quidde und die Erschließung der kurialen Registerüberlieferung* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 124), ed. Michael Matheus, Berlin; Boston, 2012, 191–204. Her dissertation *Bischofserhebungen und geistliche Landesherrschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Livland. Dorpat – Ösel – Kurland* is yet to be published ([http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/fmi/arbeitsbereiche/ab\\_thumser/dissertationen/29.3.2016](http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/fmi/arbeitsbereiche/ab_thumser/dissertationen/29.3.2016)).

<sup>82</sup> See also: Madis Maasing, “Saare-Lääne piiskop ja tema vaimulik isand. Põhijooni Johannes von Münchhausen suhetest Riia peapiiskopi Wilhelmiga (1541–1560)”, *Läänemaa Muuseumi Toimetised*, 16 (2013), 55–87.

<sup>83</sup> Heinrich Friedrich Jacobson, “Die Metropolitanverbindung Riga’s mit den Bistümern Preußens”, *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 6.2 (1836), 123–179; Josef Oswald, “Riga und Gnesen im Kampf um die Metropolitanangewalt über die Altpreußischen Bistümer”, *Staatliche Akademie zu Braunsberg, Personal- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis. Wintersemester 1942/43. Abhandlung*, 1–78). See also Article V, esp. 165–168.

<sup>84</sup> For further historiography of the Feud, see Article II, 124, footnotes 5 and 6, and Article III, 115–119. See also 1.6.2.

much separate attention, and it is generally interpreted as a prequel to the Livonian War,<sup>85</sup> with the only exception being the paper by Stefan Hartmann that concentrates on the sources of the Feud.<sup>86</sup>

#### 1.4.4. Biographical Information about Livonian rulers, and Margrave Wilhelm

If one deals with medieval Livonian clergy, one should consult firstly the collection of short biographies compiled over a century ago by Leonid Arbusow, Sr.<sup>87</sup> A comparable but significantly more contemporary study about the personnel of the Livonian Order was edited by Klaus Militzer and Lutz Fenske.<sup>88</sup> There are also some longer biographical studies about Livonian rulers in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century: A few about the Masters of the Order, especially about Wolter von Plettenberg,<sup>89</sup> but also about the activities of Archbishop Johann Blankenfeld,<sup>90</sup> and some concerning the bishops of Ösel-Wiek<sup>91</sup> and

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<sup>85</sup> See, e.g. Knud Rasmussen, *Die Livländische Krise 1554–1561* (Studier, Københavns universitet, slavisk institut 1), København, 1973, 28–89; Erik Tibergh, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Livländischen Krieges: die Beziehungen zwischen Moskau und Litauen 1549–1562*, Uppsala: Academia Upsaliensis, 1984, 61–67, 85–95; Iselin Gundermann, “Grundzüge der preussisch-mecklenburgischen Livlandpolitik im 16. Jahrhundert”, *Baltische Studien*, NF, 52 (1966), 31–56. For further literature about the Feud, see also: Article III, 115–119, 129–144.

<sup>86</sup> Stefan Hartmann, “Neue Quellen zur livländischen Koadjutorfehde 1555/6”, *Aus der Geschichte Alt-Livlands: Festschrift für Heinz von zur Mühlen zum 90. Geburtstag*, 275–306.

<sup>87</sup> His work has appeared in four parts in the journal *Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik*, but its usage is simplified by the register added to the end of the fourth part: Leonid Arbusow [Sr.], “Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert [4 Vols.]”, *Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik* 1900 (1902), 33–80; 1901 (1902), 1–160; 1902 (1904), 39–134; 1911/1912 (1913), 1–460.

<sup>88</sup> *Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens*, Köln [etc] 1993.

<sup>89</sup> About Master Plettenberg: see footnote 66; and: Leonid Arbusow [Jr.], *Wolter von Plettenberg und der Untergang des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen: eine Studie aus der Reformationszeit Livlands*, Leipzig 1919. There is also a good overview about Plettenberg’s successor Hermann von Brüggenei: Kreem, “Der Deutsche Orden in Livland unter Hermann von Brüggenei”.

<sup>90</sup> Wilhelm Schnöring, *Johannes Blankenfeld: Ein Lebensbild aus den Anfängen der Reformation*, Halle 1905; Helene Dopkewitsch, “Die Hochmeisterfrage und das Livlandproblem nach der Umwandlung des Ordenslandes Preußen in ein weltliches Herzogtum durch den Krakauer Vertrag von April 1525”, *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 16 (1967), 201–255; Christiane Schuchard, “Johann Blankenfeld († 1527) – eine Karriere zwischen Berlin, Rom und Livland”, *Berlin in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Jahrbuch des Landesarchivs Berlin* (2002), 27–56; Selart, “Johann Blankenfeld und Russland”.

<sup>91</sup> Tiina Kala, “Ühe Liivimaa kirikuvürsti ametisseastumise”, *Tuna* 1 (2009), 29–38; Jüri Kivimäe, “Piiskop ja hansakaupmees: Reinhold von Buxhövdene ja Johann Selhorsti kaubasuhetest 1530. aastate algul”, *Sõnadesse püütud minevik: in honorem Enn Tarvel*, ed. Marten Seppel and Priit Raudkivi, Tallinn 2009, 138–158; Carl Schirren, “Bischof Johann von Münchhausen”, *Baltische Monatsschrift*, 28 (1881), 1–37; Maasing, “Saare-Lääne piiskop ja tema vaimulik isand”.

Dorpat.<sup>92</sup> However, the biographies of the majority of Livonian rulers, especially after Plettenberg's time, are still awaiting close examination.

For now, there is actually only one Livonian political figure after the 1530s whose life and activities have been studied quite thoroughly – the last Archbishop of Riga, Margrave Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Ansbach. As early as in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, German historian Paul Karge studied the arrival of Margrave in Livonia,<sup>93</sup> the conflict in the town of Riga in the 1530s, where Margrave played quite an important role,<sup>94</sup> and also Wilhelm's Reformation attempt in the middle of the 1540s (which is discussed here in Article VI).<sup>95</sup> Karge thought that his conflicts with other Livonian rulers were mainly caused by different origin, and there was supposedly a principal clash between the princely qualities of Wilhelm which he assessed as modern and progressive, and the lower nobility of Livonian rulers with medieval and stagnant characteristics. At the same time, Baltic German historians interpreted Wilhelm's activities mostly negatively, as he intervened into Livonian politics with foreign support, whereas another German, Hans Quednau saw Wilhelm as a creature of his cunning brother Albrecht, whose most important task was to enforce political goals of the Prussian Duke.<sup>96</sup>

Recently, the activities of Margrave Wilhelm have found even more attention. A recent voluminous survey from Thomas Lange concentrates mostly on the foreign policies of Wilhelm in the beginning of the Livonian War, but also provides a solid overview of the previous decades, although inner-Livonian policies of the 1530s and 1540s are not studied in detail.<sup>97</sup> Lange sees a principle difference between the political agendas of Wilhelm and other Livonians, but his position is not as value-laden as that of Karge's. The author also

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<sup>92</sup> Jüri Kivimäe, "Ein Kamel für Dorpat und ein Truthahn für Moskau. Geschenksendungen zwischen Livland und Russland im Jahr 1534", *Zwischen Lübeck und Novgorod. Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur im Ostseeraum vom frühen Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*. Norbert Angermann zum 60. Geburtstag, ed. Ortwin Pelc and Gertrud Pickhan, Lüneburg 1996, 233–248. See also Article IV.

<sup>93</sup> Karge, "Die Berufung des Markgrafen Wilhelm zum Koadjutor des Rigaschen Erzbischofs".

<sup>94</sup> Paul Karge, "Die religiösen, politischen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Strömungen in Riga 1530–1535".

<sup>95</sup> Paul Karge, "Die Reformation und Gottesdienstordnung des Markgrafen-Erzbischofs Wilhelm von Riga vom März 1546", *Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte*, 22 (1924), 120–161.

<sup>96</sup> Hans Quednau, *Livland im politischen Willen Herzog Albrechts von Preussen: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Herzogtums Preussen und des preussisch-livländischen Verhältnisses 1525–1540* (Deutschland und der Osten: Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen 12), Leipzig 1939. The importance of Albrecht to the politics of Wilhelm is also emphasized elsewhere: Gundermann, "Grundzüge der preussisch-mecklenburgischen Livlandpolitik im 16. Jahrhundert"; Stefan Hartmann, "Aspekte der Außenbeziehungen Livlands im Spiegel der Korrespondenz Herzog Albrechts von Preußen (1525–1570)", *Die baltischen Länder und Europa in der frühen Neuzeit*, 133–163.

<sup>97</sup> *Zwischen Reformation und Untergang Alt-Livlands*. For further historiography about Margrave Wilhelm, see: *idem*, 17–24.



believes that Wilhelm was not very dependent on the Prussian Duke, but he has probably overemphasized his political independence. On the other hand, the studies of Klaus Neitmann that dissect Wilhelm's economic problems, itineraries, residential policy, and immediate circle seem to imply, that the over-ambitious Margrave lived continuously beyond his abilities both financially and politically, and relied in both spheres greatly on his brother Albrecht.<sup>98</sup> Recent exhaustive papers by Ulrich Müller about the religious activities of the Margrave turn more attention to his internal policies, but not that much on his relations with other Livonian rulers.<sup>99</sup> Müller also poses the hypothesis that Wilhelm was not a supporter of Lutheranism until the middle of the 1540s, but this assumption seems not to stand on very strong foundations.<sup>100</sup> The prospective dissertation of Magnus von Hirschheydt about church reforms and the Reformation in the town and Archbishopric of Riga should also concern the activities of the Margrave.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> "Die Auswahl von Residenzorten. Methodische Bemerkungen zur spätmittelalterlichen geistlichen Residenzbildung", *Spätmittelalterliche Residenzbildung in geistlichen Territorien Mittel- und Nordostdeutschlands. Studien zur brandenburgischen und vergleichenden Landesgeschichte*, Vol. 2 (Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Brandenburgische Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters, 3), ed. Klaus Neitmann, and Heinz-Dieter Heimann, Berlin 2009, 41–90, here 52–64; "Fürst und Räte vor der Herausforderung "guter Ökonomie und Haushaltung". Aufbau und Unterhaltung der Hof- und Landesverwaltung des erzbischöflich rigischen Koadjutors Markgraf Wilhelm von Brandenburg 1529–1539", *Hofwirtschaft. Ein ökonomischer Blick auf Hof und Residenz in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Residenzenforschung 21), ed. Gerhard Fouquet et al., Ostfildern 2008, 77–122; "Ein Franke an den äußersten Rändern der Christenheit: Erzbischof Wilhelm von Riga zwischen einheimischem und landfremdem Herrschaftspersonal", *Livland – eine Region an der Peripherie im Austausch mit den Zentren Europas* [forthcoming].

<sup>99</sup> "Erzbischof Wilhelm von Riga und die Reformation in Livland 1535–1563", *Preußen und Livland im Zeichen der Reformation* (Tagungsberichte der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreussische Landesforschung 28), ed. Arno Mentzel-Reuters and Klaus Neitmann, Osnabrück, 2014, 241–343; "Herzog Albrecht in Preußen und Erzbischof Wilhelm von Riga in ihren Bemühungen um die Evangelisierung der Landbevölkerung Livlands (I–III)", *Preußenland*, N.F., 5 (2014), 49–97; 6 (2015), 43–99.

<sup>100</sup> See "Erzbischof Wilhelm von Riga und die Reformation in Livland 1535–1563", *passim*.

<sup>101</sup> *Kirchenreformen und Reformation in Stadt und Erzstift Riga (1530–1563)* (laufende Dissertation). URL: <http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/fakultaeten/philosophische-fakultaet/fachbereiche/geschichtswissenschaft/seminareinstitute/neuere-geschichte/personen/lehrstuhl-duerr/prof-dr-asche/abschlussarbeiten-und-dissertationen.html> (29.3.2016)

### 1.4.5. The Role of Religion in the Politics of Livonia

The study of the Reformation in Livonia has a long historiographical tradition.<sup>102</sup> Regarding political history, the most important work is still *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland* by Leonid Arbusow Jr.<sup>103</sup> Although more recent overviews add to the previous knowledge in social, artistic, and other perspectives, there is not much new input the political history.<sup>104</sup> On the other hand, the number of shorter treatises that discuss the effect of the Reformation in Livonian politics in the 1540s and 1550s is steadily rising. They concern mostly the Order, Livonian towns, and Archbishop Wilhelm (as mentioned above), and claim quite convincingly that the Reformation was significantly more spread among Livonian elites than it was thought by early Baltic German researchers.<sup>105</sup> At the same time, it appears also, that it did not change the baselines of the politics in Livonia: Ecclesiastical, and formally Catholic, power structures remained the same, even if they were led by men who personally supported Lutheranism.<sup>106</sup>

I claimed above (§1.1), that the relatively small role of religious contradictions in Livonian politics could be caused by the diminishing role of the religion for Livonian political structures, as the ecclesiastic dignitaries were increasingly

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<sup>102</sup> About study of the Reformation in Estonia and Latvia, see: Juhan Kreem, “Die livländische Reformation im Spiegel der estnischen Geschichtswissenschaft”, *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Livland, Estland, Ösel, Ingermanland, Kurland und Lettgallen: Stadt, Land und Konfession 1500–1721*, Vol 4 (München: Aschendorff, 2012), 99–121; Valda Kļava, “Die livländische Reformation im Spiegel der lettischen Geschichtswissenschaft”, *idem*, 123–146.

<sup>103</sup> *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 3), Riga 1921. About its current evaluation: Bernhart Jähniß, “Konzeption und Standort von Leonid Arbusows “Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland”, *Leonid Arbusow (1882–1951) und die Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Livland*, 123–133.

<sup>104</sup> The most important recent overviews are: Christoph Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät: die Reformation in Polen und Livland*, Göttingen, 2000; Joachim Kuhles, *Die Reformation in Livland: religiöse, politische und ökonomische Wirkungen*, Hamburg, 2007; *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Livland, Estland, Ösel, Ingermanland, Kurland und Lettgallen: Stadt, Land und Konfession 1500–1721*, Vols 1–4 (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 69–72), ed. Matthias Asche, Werner Buchholz, and Anton Schindling, Münster: Aschendorff, 2009–2012.

<sup>105</sup> See esp. the articles concerning Livonia in: *Preußen und Livland im Zeichen der Reformation*. The research situation of Livonian reformation is also discussed here in: Article VI, 45–47.

<sup>106</sup> For the Order, see the following papers from Juhan Kreem: “Der Deutsche Orden und die Reformation in Livland”, *The Military Orders and the Reformation. Choices, State building, and the Weight of Tradition* (Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, Balije van Utrecht, 3), ed. Johannes A. Mol, Klaus Militzer, and Helen J. Nicholson, Hilversum, 2006, 43–57; “Der Deutsche Orden in Livland unter Hermann von Brüggenei”; “Das Augsburger Interim in Livland. Evangelische und Altgläubige in den baltischen Landen in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts”, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 134 (2014), 121–141.

perceived as rather secular princes. These kinds of tendencies have been noted in the case of Archbishop Wilhelm,<sup>107</sup> the Order,<sup>108</sup> and also the Bishop of Ösel-Wiek.<sup>109</sup>

#### 1.4.6. Livonia and the Holy Roman Empire

Historiography about the relations between Livonia and the Holy Roman Empire is quite scarce, as is shown in a recent article by Valda Kļava.<sup>110</sup> Until the 1970s, the relations between Livonia and the Empire were mainly valued according to the positions of the studies at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, which concentrated on formal juridical aspects – mostly on the statuses of Livonian bishops as Imperial princes –, and thus regarded medieval Livonia as a part of the Empire.<sup>111</sup> Thereafter, Manfred Hellmann stressed that connections between Livonians and the Empire were occasional and subjective, and Livonia was rather not part of the Empire, at least not until the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>112</sup> Recently, this view is also relativized,<sup>113</sup> and Livonian-Imperial relations are studied in more detail in the 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries by Mihkel Mäesalu.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Lange, *Zwischen Reformation und Untergang Alt-Livlands*.

<sup>108</sup> Neitmann, “Die Spätzeit des Deutschen Ordens in Livland im Spiegel der Livländischen Güterurkunden”, 185–237; Kreem, “Der Deutsche Orden in Livland im 16. Jahrhundert: Einige Betrachtungen zur Entwicklung seines Personalbestandes”; *Idem*, “Der Deutsche Orden im 16. Jahrhundert. Die Spätzeit einer geistlichen Adelskorporation in Livland”.

<sup>109</sup> Kala, “Ühe Liivimaa kirikuvürsti ametisseastumise”, esp. 38.

<sup>110</sup> “Livonija Svētājā Romas impērijā: problēmas izpēte un attiecību piemērs no 16. gadsimta vidus” / “Livonia in the Holy Roman Empire: Current Stage of Analysis and the Case of the mid-16th Century”, *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, 1 (2014), 126–155.

<sup>111</sup> See, e.g.: Eduard Reimann, “Das Verhalten des Reiches gegen Livland in den Jahren 1559–1561”, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 35 (1876), 346–380; Leonid Arbusow, *Livland – Mark des Reiches 1207–1561: Ein Abschnitt deutscher Verfassungs- und Rechtsgeschichte*, Riga 1944; Otto Harnack, “Livland als Glied des deutschen Reichs von dreizehnten bis sechszehnten Jahrhundert”, *Preußische Jahrbücher* 67 (1891), 364–378.

<sup>112</sup> Hellmann leaned in his works (“Altlivland und das Reich”, *Felder und Vorfelder russische Geschichte: Studien zu Ehren von Peter Scheibert*, ed. Inge Auerbach, Peter Scheibert, and Andreas Hillgruber, Freiburg 1985, 61–75; *Livland und das Reich: das Problem ihrer gegenseitigen Beziehungen*. München, 1989) on the viewpoint of Ernst Pitz, who stated that in the 13<sup>th</sup> century the Emperor gave princely privileges and legitimacy to Livonian bishops, but his role as a secular overlord was virtually irrelevant (*Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript im Mittelalter*, Tübingen 1971).

<sup>113</sup> Dietmar Willoweit sees the understanding of Pitz and Hellmann in medieval jurisdiction as modernist, and thus anachronistic, and emphasizes the rising importance of depicting Livonia as a part of the Empire in the sources originating from the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (“Livland, das Reich und das Rechtsdenken des Mittelalters”, *Juristen werdent herren üf erden: Recht – Geschichte – Philologie. Kolloquium zum 60. Geburtstag von Friedrich Ebel*, ed. Andreas Fijal, Hans-Jörg Leuchte, and Hans-Jochen Schiewer. Göttingen, 2006, 179–188).

<sup>114</sup> “Pāpstliche und kaiserliche Machtansprüche im livländischen Kreuzzugsgebiet im 13. Jahrhundert”, *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 62.3 (2013), 472–489; “Saare-Lääne piiskopid Püha Rooma keisririigi läänimeestena. Keisrile või Rooma kuningale ustavusvande andmise põhjustest (1228–1521)”, *Läänemaa Muuseumi toimetised*, 16

For the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Kļava states that Livonians themselves normally ascribed Livonia as being a part of the Empire, but mostly in rhetorical terms. In the same time, practical connections – the search for support, paying taxes, and participating in the activities of central organs of the Empire, such as the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*), or central courts (*Reichskammergericht* and *Reichshofrat*) – were not continuous and depended on the concrete political situation, and thus the question still seems to remain present as to whether Livonia was a part of the Empire or not. However, Kļava does not actually observe the participation of the Livonians in Imperial structures, which offers more concrete answers. Until now, it is mostly the *Reichskammergericht* and *Reichshofrat* that have been examined,<sup>115</sup> and Bernhard Diestelkamp has stated that Livonia's participation could be compared to other peripheral areas of the Empire, like the Duchy of Holstein.<sup>116</sup> Juhan Kreem has published an interesting survey about the Imperial demand to enforce the Augsburg Interim in Livonia and Livonian reactions to it, which also implies that Livonia was rather a part of the Empire.<sup>117</sup> This has also been claimed here in Article VI, and my paper about Livonia and the Imperial Diet will also maintain the same point.<sup>118</sup>

#### 1.4.7. Contributions of This Dissertation to the Historiography

For the sake of clarity, I will mention here shortly and concretely the gaps in historiography that this thesis aims to fill. Firstly, I study the political rhetoric and argumentation in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, especially the rhetoric of the “Russian threat”, and the argumentation during the Feud of Ösel-Wiek (for the results, see §§2.1–2.2). Secondly, I examine the internal policies of Margrave Wilhelm, and his relations with other Livonian Bishops especially in the 1540s, which has been largely neglected until now (for the results, see §§2.4–2.6). Thirdly, I observe the role of the Reformation in the Feud of Ösel-Wiek, and also the political context of the Reformation plan of Margrave Wilhelm – both are topics that seem to need reevaluation (for the results, see §2.3).

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(2013), 33–54; “Die Steuerforderungen des Heiligen Römischen Reiches gegenüber der Kirchenprovinz Riga im 15. Jahrhundert“ [forthcoming]. A more elaborate overview of these relations will be provided in his upcoming doctoral dissertation: *Liivimaa ja Püha Rooma keisririik (13.–15. sajand)*; URL: <https://www.etis.ee/Portal/Mentorships/Display/7dd6ddd8-11e4-4205-b653-b68a8a1ee354> 23.3.2016.

<sup>115</sup> *Repertorium der Akten des Reichskammergerichts: untrennbarer Bestand. 1, Prozessesakten aus der Schweiz, Italien, den Niederlanden und dem Baltikum, sowie der freiwilligen Gerichtsbarkeit*, ed. Otto Koser, Heppenheim a. d. Bergstrasse 1933; Richard Hausmann, *Livländische Prozesse im Reichskammergerichts-Archiv zu Wetzlar*, Dorpat 1887; Leo Leesment, *Über die livländischen Gerichtssachen im Reichskammergericht und im Reichshofrat*, Tartu 1929; Diestelkamp, “Die Reichsgerichtsbarkeit in den Ostseeländern”.

<sup>116</sup> “Die Reichsgerichtsbarkeit in den Ostseeländern”, 17–19.

<sup>117</sup> “Das Augsburger Interim in Livland”.

<sup>118</sup> Madis Maasing, “Livland und die Reichstage (1500–1555)”.

Finally, I stress the political importance of the Holy Roman Empire for Livonia, especially in Article VI (for the results, see §2.1).

## 1.5. Sources

The main sources for the dissertation are the texts of political correspondence between Livonian rulers. They provide information about the situation of Livonian internal politics – often on an almost day-to-day level –, and also offer the opportunity to research political rhetoric and argumentation. The most representative collection of this kind of texts is the 7-volume publication *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland*, which contains source registers from the correspondence of Prussian Duke with Livonian political actors – most frequently with his brother Wilhelm – from 1525 to 1570.<sup>119</sup> One can obtain a detailed overview of Livonian internal politics from that publication, as Margrave Wilhelm and his immediate circle maintained intense correspondence with Prussia, especially in the times of the crises, such as the Feud of Ösel-Wiek (1532–1536) and the Coadjutor's Feud (1556–1557). More precisely, it provides rich information on such topics as political activities and stances of different factions, relations between Margrave Wilhelm and Livonian bishops, and his various political, economic, and personal activities. Although the publication mainly reflects political events from the viewpoint of brothers Albrecht and Wilhelm, it also contains at least summaries of standpoints of other Livonian powers – especially in the times of political crises when argumentation of the hostile party had to be collected for effective responses. Documents about the correspondence of Livonian rulers are also present in the fifth volume of the publication series *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae* (1847), which contains 294

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<sup>119</sup> *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1525–1534): Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten* (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz 49), ed. Ulrich Müller, Köln 1996; *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1534–1540): Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten* (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz 49), ed. Stefan Hartmann, Köln 1999; *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1540–1551): Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten* (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz 54), ed. Stefan Hartmann, Köln 2002; *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1551–1557): Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten* (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz 57), ed. Stefan Hartmann, Köln 2005; *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1557–1560): Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten* (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz 60), ed. Stefan Hartmann, Köln 2006; *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1560–1565): Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten* (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz 61), ed. Stefan Hartmann, Köln 2008; *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1565–1570): Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den ostpreussischen Folianten* (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz 63), ed. Stefan Hartmann, Köln 2008.

full-text documents about Margrave Wilhelm – some of which are not present in the Prussian publication.<sup>120</sup> It is, however, problematic that it contains no documents from the years 1541–46 and 1548–50, and the texts are quite often incorrectly dated.

In addition to personal correspondence, political discussions, decisions, acts, treaties, and letters of privileges are important for current dissertation. Most important of them are present in *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland* (mostly as appendices to the main letters), and also in *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae*. Additionally, for the first years of the main period researched in the dissertation, the third volume of *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage* (which covers the years 1494–1535) has great relevance.<sup>121</sup> It contains full texts of documents concerning Livonian Diets and other political gatherings (e.g., local Diets of Livonian territories (German *Manntage*), conventions of bishops (German *Prälatentage*) etc.), which present political procedures, negotiations, decisions, and treaties. Thus, one can obtain a good overview of the positions of different political parties, and thus an impression of which political currents and mentalities were dominant in Livonia. The documents concerning the political conventions of Livonia during the last two decades up to the Livonian War are partially published in various publications, and some of their regests are also present in *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland*.<sup>122</sup>

In Article I, the main attention is turned to the 15<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the rhetoric about Russians (and to lesser extent, Turks) in Livonian political correspondence, which is published in the publication series *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*.<sup>123</sup> Additionally, the political

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<sup>120</sup> *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae: Sammlung von Chroniken, Berichten, Urkunden und anderen schriftlichen Denkmälern und Aufsätzen, welche zur Erläuterung der Geschichte Liv-, Ehst- und Kurlands dienen. Fünfter Band: Die letzten Zeiten des Erzbistums Riga, dargestellt in einer gleichzeitigen Chronik des Bartolomäus Grefenthal und in einer Sammlung der auf jene Zeiten bezüglichen Urkunden*, Riga; Leipzig 1847.

<sup>121</sup> *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage. Bd. 3, 1494–1535*, ed. Leonid Arbusow [Sr.], Riga 1910. Although it was published more than century ago, its editorial quality is regarded highly even today (Matthias Thumser, “Oskar Stavenhagen, Leonid Arbusow und die “Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage”, *Geschichte und Perspektive eines Editionsunternehmens*”, *Leonid Arbusow (1882–1951) und die Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Livland*, 109–122, here 120–122.

<sup>122</sup> About the situation of those sources, see: Juhan Kreem, “Die Religionsfrage auf den livländischen Ständeversammlungen 1522–1558”, *Preussen und Livland im Zeichen der Reformation*, 183–197, here 185.

<sup>123</sup> In Article I, following volumes are used: *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch: nebst Regesten. Abteilung 1, Band 5, 1414–Mai 1423*, ed. Friedrich Georg von Bunge, Aalen 1974 [1867]; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch: nebst Regesten. Abteilung 1, Band 7, Mai 1423–Mai 1429*, ed. Hermann Hildebrand 1974 [1881]; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch: nebst Regesten. Abteilung 1, Band 8, Mai 1429–1435*, ed. Hermann Hildebrand, Aalen 1974 [1884]; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch: nebst Regesten. Abteilung 1, Band 9, 1436–1443*, ed. Hermann Hildebrand, Aalen 1981 [1889]; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch: nebst Regesten. Abteilung 1, Band 10, 1444–1449*, ed. Hermann Hildebrand and Philipp Schwartz, Aalen 1981 [1896]; *Liv-, Est-*

pamphlet *Eynne schonne hysthorie* is used, as it is one of the most important sources containing the Livonian “Russian threat” rhetoric.<sup>124</sup> The first years of the Livonian War are under partial observation, mostly in Article IV, where primarily rhetoric and the stances of various political powers are observed by leaning on the classical publications edited by Carl Schirren<sup>125</sup> and Friedrich Bienemann<sup>126</sup>.

As this dissertation aims to provide mostly introductory case studies for communication and the nature of the political system of Livonia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the work should be continued, and there are many opportunities to enlarge the source basis. Several further publications are certainly useful, such as *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, which contain various information about Livonia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>127</sup> and there are many sources still unpublished concerning the same period.<sup>128</sup>

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*und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch: nebst Regesten. Abteilung 1, Band 11, 1450–1459*, ed. Philipp Schwartz, Aalen 1981 [1905]; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch: nebst Regesten. Abteilung 1, Band 12, 1460–1471*, ed. Hermann Hildebrand, Philipp Schwartz, and August von Bulmerincq, Aalen 1981 [1910]; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch: nebst Regesten. Abteilung 2. Band 1, Ende Mai 1494–1500*, ed. Leonid Arbusow [Sr.], Aalen 1981 [1900]; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch: nebst Regesten. Abteilung 2. Band 2, 1501–1505*, ed. Leonid Arbusow [Sr.], Aalen 1981 [1905].

<sup>124</sup> “Eynne Schonne hysthorie van vunderlyken gescheffthen der heren tho lyfflanth myth den Rüssen vnde tartaren.” For comparison, the works of Polish author Johannes Sacranus of the same era were used (*Elucidarius errorum ritus Ruthenici*. Kraków 1507; *Errores atrocissimorum Ruthenorum*. Köln 1507; *Errores Atrocissimoru[m] Ruthenoru[m]: Ex Tractatu d[omi]ni Joannis Sacrani sacre Theologie Magistri [...] quem intitulavit Elucidarium erroru[m] ritus Ruthenici: et inscripsit Reuerendo in Christo patri domino Alberto Episcopo Vilneñ*. [Köln] 1508).

<sup>125</sup> *Quellen zur Geschichte des Untergangs livländischer Selbständigkeit: Aus dem schwedischen Reichsarchive zu Stockholm* (Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curlands, Neue Folge, 1–8, 1861–1881), ed. Carl Schirren; *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Untergangs livländischer Selbständigkeit: Aus dem dänischen Geheimen Archive zu Kopenhagen* (Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curlands, Neue Folge, 9–11, 1883–1885), ed. Carl Schirren.

<sup>126</sup> *Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte Livlands in den Jahren 1558–1562*, Vol. 1–5, Riga 1865–1876.

<sup>127</sup> In Article I, volume 19 of *Deutsche Reichstagsakten. Ältere Reihe* is used (1453–1454. *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III. Fünfte Abteilung, erste Hälfte*, ed. Helmut Weigel and Henny Grüneisen, Göttingen 1969; *Reichsversammlung zu Frankfurt 1454. Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III. Fünfte Abteilung, Zweiter Teil*, ed. Johannes Helmraht and Gabriela Annas, München 2013; *Reichsversammlung zu Wiener Neustadt 1455. Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III. Fünfte Abteilung, Dritter Teil*, ed. Gabriela Annas, München 2013). For further information, see: Mäesalu, “Die Steuerforderungen des Heiligen Römischen Reiches gegenüber der Kirchenprovinz Riga im 15. Jahrhundert”; Maasing, “Livland und die Reichstage (1500–1555)”.

<sup>128</sup> For political history, most resourceful are sources from Tallinn City Archives; e.g., it contains documents about Livonian political conventions from the years 1532 to 1559 (TLA f. 230, n. 1, s. Br 14). From Danish National Archives in Copenhagen, a part the collection of sources about the 16<sup>th</sup> Century is also available online via Estonian online database *Saaga* (DRA, Fremmed proviniens, Lifland, Oesel Stifts registrant 1a–4b; URL:

The main relevance of the aforementioned types of sources to the political history of Livonia is that they contribute to understanding of the thoughts, actions, goals, and positions of different Livonian political factions and single actors, as well as to assess their role in the Livonian political system. When studying them, one must remember to be cautious when reading the writings of politicians and diplomats, so as not to fall victim to their ideological biases (see §1.3.1). As stated, these sources are also mainly informative about political events and behavior of factions and actors, but apart from Margrave Wilhelm, it is hardly possible to write a full (political) biography of a Livonian political actor, because the individual and biographical facts are mostly too fragmented. This problem is certainly amplified by the loss of many sources, and especially those that concern the Livonian Bishops: E.g. the archive of the Bishop of Dorpat was probably destroyed during the Livonian War. This was also one of the reasons why this dissertation concentrated largely on the person of Margrave Wilhelm. In the future, however, the study on the sources from the Danish National Archives about the Bishopric of Ösel-Wiek might provide additional valuable knowledge about the functioning of Livonian politics.

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<http://www.ra.ee/dgs/explorer.php?tid=76&tbn=1&lev=yes&hash=039714814b4dcf4b0714e3a4fc3e734e> 30.3.2016). About the Order, there is much data in Swedish National Archives in Stockholm (cf.: Carl Schirren, *Verzeichniss livländischer Geschichts-Quellen in schwedischen Archiven und Bibliotheken: Ausbeute des Jahres 1860*. Dorpat, 1861–1868), and also in *Deutschordenszentralarchiv* in Vienna (cf.: *Nordosteuropa und der Deutsche Orden: Kurzregesten, Vol. 1, bis 1561* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 17), ed. Klemens Wieser, Bad Godesberg 1969). In National Archives of Latvia in Riga, there are documents about Archbishops of Riga, and of them, Thomas Lange has researched archivists about Margrave Wilhelm (*Zwischen Reformation und Untergang Alt-Livlands*, 711). Many German Archives may provide useful addition to 16<sup>th</sup> Century Livonian history: there should be still some unpublished data in Secret State Archives Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation in Berlin, from the collections of the Archives of Hanseatic Towns, including Lübeck and Rostock, and some regional archives, such as *Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin* (about Duchies of Mecklenburg) and *Landeshauptarchiv Greifswald* (about Duchies of Pomerania). Also, there could be some unstudied materials in Rome (About materials studied by Leonid Arbusow jun., see: “Römischer Arbeitsbericht. I.–IV.”, *Latvijas Universitātes Raksti. Acta Universitatis Latviensis*, XVII (1928), 285–423; XX (1929), 475–649; *Filoloģijas un filozofijas fakultātes serija*, I (1929), 65–160; *Filoloģijas un filozofijas fakultātes serija*, II (1933), 280–365). Additionally, there are certainly many unpublished sources to be found from Russian and Polish archives. For more general overviews and some published documents, see: *Die Arbeiten für das liv-, est- und kurländische Urkundenbuch*, 1873–1897; *Der Bericht über die Arbeiten für das Liv-, Est- und Kurländische Urkundenbuch... sowie die Akten und Rezesse der Livländischen Ständetage nebst dem Kassenbericht*, 1909–1914; Carl Schirren, *Nachricht von Quellen zur Geschichte Russlands, Vornehmlich aus schwedischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, St. Petersburg 1860.



## 2. CONCLUSIONS

In this concluding part of the dissertation, I firstly treat external and internal contexts of the political relations of Livonia, and then turn attention to the relationship between the religion and politics, and discuss the political activities of Margrave Wilhelm. Finally, the main traits of the relations of Livonian rulers, the political system, and the role of the Bishops in the latter are discussed.

### 2.1. External Contexts: “Russian Threat” Rhetoric, Connections with the Holy Roman Empire, Papal and Imperial Authority

As stated in Article I, Livonian rhetoric of “Russian threat” (as well as any other rhetoric indicating the endangerment of Livonia) was mostly directed to the highest ecclesiastical and political powers of medieval Europe – the Pope and the Holy Roman Empire, and the rhetoric was used in the same manner as that of the “Turkish threat” in Southeastern Europe. Thus, the Livonians presented themselves as fighting constantly against the sworn enemies of the Christendom that were as dangerous as the Turks, and that they were a necessary defensive wall of the Christians (*Antemurale Christianitatis*) that had to be supported by the latter (and, naturally, especially by those to whom the rhetoric was directed). At the same time, Livonia was depicted as a harmonious union of pious Christians, worthy of fighting the dark powers aspiring to destroy Christendom. It appeared also that this kind of argumentation was effective for Livonians, as they managed to get an indulgence campaign from the Pope. In the case of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, proof can be found that the Livonians used the rhetoric mostly for other ends than seeking support against Russians, e.g., it was used to obtain exemptions from supporting the Holy Roman Empire against the Turks, and Margrave Wilhelm substantiated his political activities with the “Russian threat” both in the 1530s and the 1540s.<sup>129</sup>

The dissertation also established a number of aspects supporting the view, which regards Livonia as a loosely connected part of the Holy Roman Empire. Livonians frequently used the references to the Imperial legislation in their political argumentation, especially during times of conflicts,<sup>130</sup> and legal bounds between Livonia and the Empire intensified considerably after the 1520s.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> In addition to Article I (esp. 371–374), see also: Maasing, “«Русская опасность» в письмах Рижского Архиепископа Вильгельма за 1530–1550 гг.”.

<sup>130</sup> For example, the conflicting parties of the Feud of Ösel-Wiek accused each other of breaking the Imperial legislation, especially Perpetual Public Peace (German *Ewiger Landfriede*), which they deemed one of the gravest felonies (cf. Article II, 132–133, 136–137, 143–144, 152–154, 162, 168–172).

<sup>131</sup> After all Livonian rulers achieved the status of the Imperial prince in the 1520s, almost all of them gave the oath to the Emperor to obtain Imperial regalia until the 1550s. The only

Moreover, it appeared, especially from Article VI, that the role of the Empire became clearly more important in the 1540s, while the Livonians paid more attention to the events in the Empire and begun to send their embassies regularly to the Imperial Diets. At the same time, the Empire also paid more attention to Livonia: The Emperor demanded Livonians to enforce the Augsburg Interim, while at the Imperial Diets Livonian taxation was regulated, and, finally, Imperial ambassadors mediated the Coadjutor's Feud in 1557. It appears, however, that there were also complications in these relations, which primarily were connected to the "Russian" and "Turkish threat" rhetoric. While Livonians hoped for Imperial support against the Russians, they were not ready to contribute to the anti-Turkish undertakings in the Empire. This practically led to a "zero-sum" result: Although Imperial Estates were willing to exempt Livonians from Turkish and other taxes for the reason of the "Russian threat", the Livonians did not achieve support against the Russians either in the beginning of the 1550s, as the exemption was already seen as "help".<sup>132</sup> It seems that as the Livonians had overused the "Russian threat" as an argument in previous years, it was probably not taken that seriously in the Empire when the Livonians really needed the support against the demands of the Tsar in the 1550s.

In discussing the importance of the Pope and the Emperor for Livonian Bishops from the 1520s to the 1550s, it may seem that the authority of the first remained more important, as the Papal confirmation was normally applied and received before obtaining Imperial regalia. There were number of exceptions, however, when Imperial confirmation predated the Papal one, and these were connected to the political complications where legitimacy was urgently needed and perhaps more easily received from a centre closer to Livonia.<sup>133</sup> However, if one attempts to answer the question posed at the beginning of this dissertation (Who was more important, the Pope or the Emperor?), then it seems that for Livonian bishops there was not one without the other: Since the 1520s, both the Pope and the Emperor were seen as necessary to legitimize their power, both ecclesiastically and temporally.

## 2.2. Internal Contexts: Argumentation and Feuds

If one observes the importance of the rhetoric of the "Russian threat" in inner-Livonian communication, it definitely appears more restricted than in the external relations. There are instances where it clearly appeared to be ineffective, as

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exception was the Bishop of Reval, who seems to have not received regalia from the 1530s, but he actually did not have the princely power either. See appendix 2 here, and also: Maasing, "Livland und die Reichstage (1500–1555)".

<sup>132</sup> For further details, see again Maasing, "Livland und die Reichstage (1500–1555)".

<sup>133</sup> The two most prominent examples of this were Bishops Reinhold of Ösel-Wiek (Article II) and Hermann of Dorpat (Article IV), but also Archbishop Thomas Schöning and Bishop Johannes Bey of Dorpat had certain political reasons to apply for Imperial recognition as soon as possible. For dates, see Appendix 2.

in the turn of the 1530s and 1540s, when the Order tried to aggrandize minor raids of the Russians against the eastern borderlands of the Archbishopric, and the Archbishop did not go along with it.<sup>134</sup> Actually, apart from the case of Archbishop Johannes Blankenfeld, who was accused of cooperation with the Russians and was even briefly imprisoned in 1525–1526, there are no instances where “Russian threat” rhetoric was used successfully in 16th-century Livonia during the periods when there was no real danger from the Russians. In the case of Blankenfeld, the accusations were reinforced with the claims that he was also treacherously cooperating with the Lithuanians, and thus it was actually the rhetoric of more general external intervention that affected the Livonians in that especially anxious time.<sup>135</sup> Thus, it seems that the “Russian threat” rhetoric was not used that extensively against fellow Livonians, as was done in earlier centuries.<sup>136</sup> It appears also that in the period studied here – the 1530s to the 1550s – the “Russian threat” was at inner-Livonian level of common concern only if the long truce with the Russians was due to expire, i.e. from the 1540s.<sup>137</sup> Additionally, one should also note that there were other notions of foreign threat that were sometimes far stronger than the “Russian threat”: Like the fear of Danish intervention during the Feud of Ösel-Wiek,<sup>138</sup> and the “Polish threat” before and at the time of the Coadjutor’s Feud.<sup>139</sup>

Examination of the argumentation used during the Feud of Ösel-Wiek in Article II demonstrated that the most effective arguments at the internal level of Livonia seem to be these which appealed to common values and benefits, as well as to the unity of Livonia. It was also combined with strong emphasis on the legitimacy of one’s side (including lawful election to the Bishop’s seat, Imperial regalia and Papal confirmation), and the illegality of one’s opponent and allegation, that the latter’s policies are common threat for all Livonians – the strategy that was chosen by Bishop Reinhold of Ösel-Wiek. His opponents – led by Margrave Wilhelm – who stressed the allegedly illegal and brutal actions of their adversaries during the conflict, and presented strong external support to themselves, and threatened with foreign intervention, did not win lasting support.

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<sup>134</sup> Article I, and Maasing, “«Русская опасность» в письмах Рижского Архиепископа Вильгельма за 1530–1550 гг.”, 188–189.

<sup>135</sup> The case of Blankenfeld was connected to the political complications of the introduction of Livonian reformation, Papal plans for the union between Catholic and Orthodox churches (which, as mentioned, was clearly counter-productive to the Livonian rhetoric of unchristian Russians), and the anxiety after the lands of the Teutonic Order in Prussia were secularised and transformed into a vassal duchy of Poland (Selart, “Johann Blankenfeld und Russland”).

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Selart, “Political Rhetoric and the Edges of Christianity”.

<sup>137</sup> Cf., Maasing, “«Русская опасность» в письмах Рижского Архиепископа Вильгельма за 1530–1550 гг.”, 186–187, 190–193.

<sup>138</sup> For details of Denmark’s role, see: Madis Maasing “Saare-Lääne vaenus ja Krahvivaenus” [forthcoming].

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Angermann and Lange, “Am vorabend des Livländischen Krieges”; Article III.

That most of the Livonians were strongly against external intervention, was even more clearly manifested in the case of the Coadjutor's Feud, when the combined support of Prussia, Mecklenburg, and Poland-Lithuania to Archbishop Wilhelm and his coadjutor was the main reason for other Livonians to declare a feud against the Archbishop and imprison him. The borderlines also ran more clearly between the camps than during the Feud of Ösel-Wiek, as the adversaries were the "main" or "major" powers of Livonia – the Archbishop and the Order – and the question of the coadjutor of Riga and his foreign support touched clearly all Livonians, not only one Bishopric. By the time of the Coadjutor's Feud, the internal relations of Livonia were also clearly more strenuous than in the 1530s, which was mainly caused by the rise of the "Russian threat" in Livonia – this apparently caused Archbishop Wilhelm to decide to support the Coadjutor plan in 1554 wholeheartedly, as proposed in Article III. At the same time, the interest of foreign powers and their intrusion into Livonian affairs was by far greater than during the Feud of Ösel-Wiek. It is also important to stress that in the times of the conflict in Ösel-Wiek, the Order, although it had internal differences, managed generally to conduct unitary politics towards the conflict and Margrave Wilhelm, while during the Coadjutor's Feud internal disagreements in the Order were clearly more eminent and caused its leadership to choose an aggressive stance towards the Archbishop.<sup>140</sup> Thus, the Coadjutor's Feud was magnified by the concurrence of many crises that made it an over-regional problem, while the Feud of Ösel-Wiek remained more or less within the borders of the Bishopric.

Additionally, I believe that one should see both conflicts as more connected to the internal political events of Livonia than has usually been done before. Thus, the Feud of Ösel-Wiek cannot be seen as not only connected to the person and ambitions of Margrave Wilhelm, but more with the administrative crisis (*Verfassungskrise*) in the Bishopric of Ösel-Wiek and with the clash between the Bishop and his vassals.<sup>141</sup> Likewise, one should also not posit the Coadjutor's Feud only as a prequel of the Russo-Livonian War, but as a result of previous political developments – and the latter themselves also need closer examination.

## 2.3. Religion and Livonian Politics

As stated above, the study supports the position, that from the 1530s (when the disruptions caused by the introduction of the Reformation had waned) to the beginning of the Livonian War, religious contradictions did not affect Livonian internal policies crucially. There were no conflicts that were primarily caused or

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<sup>140</sup> For the conflict in the Order, see: Kreem, "Netzwerke um Jasper von Munster"; Mol, "Traitor to Livonia?"

<sup>141</sup> Cf.: Friedrich von Stackelberg, "Die Verwaltung des Bistums Oesel-Wiek im XVI. Jahrhundert", *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga. Vorträge zur Hundertjahrfeier am 6.–9. Dezember 1934* (Riga 1936), 36–51; Maasing, "Rahutu Saare-Lääne piiskopkond".

fuelled by religious differences: Even the confessional rhetoric during the Feud of Ösel-Wiek was of no significance to internal politics, as it was directed only to the Lutheran Duke of Prussia. Although there was a growing number of Protestant adherents amongst the Livonian political elite, the amount of supporters of the old faith probably remained considerable as well (e.g. amongst the capitulars, at least until the end of the 1540s), and there were no radical deviations from the former ways of legitimacy: As mentioned above, all Bishops (i.e. also those supporting the new faith) requested and received confirmation for their ecclesiastical power from the Pope. As Papal confirmation remained important, open acknowledgement of Lutheranism was not reasonable for the bishops. The attitude towards religious problems was rather pragmatic – maintaining internal stability seems to have been more important than confessional disputes – and treaties regarding religious equilibrium were made in the middle of the 1550s instead of enforcing the Reformation. One might also add an assumption that as there were quite widespread hopes in Germany that religious differences could be overcome and unity of Christians restored, they might have slowed the emergence of confessional differentiation likewise in Livonia, and there could have also been some persons in Livonia that sought a middle way between the two fronts.<sup>142</sup>

Yet, some developments in Germany in the 1540s might have given hope for episcopal Reformation, such as the actions of the Archbishop Hermann Wied of Cologne, or Bishop Franz Waldeck of Münster, Osnabrück and Minden, which probably encouraged Archbishop Wilhelm to make his attempt to enforce Reformational church order. However, these failed: Firstly because of internal opposition (especially from the capitulars), and ultimately because of the intervention by the Catholic Emperor. Likewise, the plan of Wilhelm turned out to be a failure, albeit not for religious, but political reasons. I also mentioned above that there were marks of the decreasing role of Livonian princes as ecclesiastical dignitaries, and that they increasingly saw themselves as secular princes (see esp. §1.4.5). One additional proof of the increasing role of this kind of self-perception is probably also the degree of importance which Livonian rulers since the 1520s ascribed to the status of Imperial Prince (discussed in §2.1).

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<sup>142</sup> In Westfalen, the Duke of Kleve was supporting a “confessionally neutral” or “Eras-  
mian” way between Catholics and Protestants (Antje Flüchter, “Konfessionalisierung in  
kulturalistischer Perspektiv? Überlegungen am Beispiel der Herzogtümer Jülich-Berg”, *Was  
heisst Kulturgeschichte des Politischen?*, 225–252). As many from the Livonian elite  
originated from the lands of the Duke, especially from the County of Mark, this opinion was  
perhaps also spread in Livonia. It seems that such Bishops as Johannes von Münchhausen of  
Ösel-Wiek and Kurland and Friedrich von Ampten of Reval might have positioned  
themselves somewhere between Catholicism and Protestantism. Moreover, it is known that  
at least some capitulars of Riga, like Matthias Unverferth and Hildebrand Lutke, were  
interested in the literature of both confessions. One could perhaps connect it even to the  
hypothesis of Müller, which claims that Margrave Wilhelm did not decidedly support  
Protestantism before the middle of the 1540s (see §1.4.4). These assumptions certainly need  
thorough analysis in the future.

## 2.4. The Ambitions and Politics of Margrave Wilhelm

As appears especially from Articles II–IV, Margrave Wilhelm aspired from the beginning of his stay in Livonia to strengthen his position politically and economically by any means available, and he also seemed to overestimate his chances at being successful.<sup>143</sup> At first he tried to obtain leading positions in various Livonian chapters, especially in Riga, Dorpat and Ösel-Wiek, and then the position of the Bishop of Ösel-Wiek. Later, he attempted in vain to enforce Reformational church order (Article VI) and lastly, get to himself a princely coadjutor (Article III). All of these plans were opposed by the majority of other Livonian powers, and ended in failure – except for the last one that was successful only because of the massive support of the King of Poland.

It appears that the main reason for this lack of success was that Margrave Wilhelm did not have any wider and lasting support in Livonia – even the Estates of the Archbishopric were often ill-disposed towards him, as shown in Article VI. The threat of foreign intervention certainly had its role, and it is quite likely that the Livonians feared that Wilhelm would want to secularize Livonia like his brother Albrecht (his main political mentor and ally) had done in Prussia, even though the Margrave did not have any real opportunities for to do so. But possibly an even more important reason for the Livonians' lasting animosity towards Wilhelm was that the latter did not want to play according to the "local rules": Mostly, he did not try to seek compromises with other Livonians and rather sought support from outside of Livonia. For their part, Livonians tried many times to "contain" him and make him accept the local customs of inner-Livonian cooperation (e.g. treaties on the Diets in 1530, 1532, 1534, 1546, and 1556, as well as the alliance treaty between Wilhelm and the Order in 1533), but all of these failed except for one – the treaty of Wolmar (Latvian *Valmiera*) in 1546 – that had a temporary success.

Wilhelm himself probably found the demands of other Livonians to limit his foreign activities as too restrictive, and, in contrast to other Livonians, saw from the arrival in Livonia of the foreign support – mostly from his mighty relatives – the only viable solution to strengthen his position in Livonia. In the 1530s he tried to obtain the chapter's seats mainly from the Pope, which turned the chapters against him, while during the Feud of Ösel-Wiek, he hoped that his relatives from Prussia, Denmark, or Poland would intervene, and he also seemed to have paid more attention to persuasion of the Pope and the Emperor to support him than his adversary did. Finally, Wilhelm hoped for massive foreign backing during the Coadjutor plan of the 1550s, which caused him to be imprisoned for over a year during the Coadjutor's Feud. In sum, it turned out that the foreign support was in mostly by far not that effective as the Margrave hoped it would be, as before the 1550s the external powers did not have that much interest in Livonian internal politics, and even during the Coadjutor's

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<sup>143</sup> Cf. Maasing, "Die Wieksche Fehde (1532–1536) und Markgraf Wilhelm von Brandenburg".

Feud the decisive intervention of the Polish king occurred only more than a year after the beginning of the conflict.

It is quite certain that Wilhelm's conflicts with other Livonians were magnified by the traditional rivalry between the Order and the Archbishop, but on the other hand the latter provided also opportunities for cooperation with other Livonians, especially with the Bishops. In fact, his only truly major political success was the restoration of archepiscopal co-power over the city of Riga in 1546–47. Then, as shown in Articles IV and VI, he firstly formed a successful alliance with other Bishops against Order's plans to intervene to the elections of the Bishops, and then managed to conclude a compromise with the Order on the question of Riga thereafter. These events in the 1540s have not yet been studied in depth, however, and they certainly need more attention in the future. At the same time, Wilhelm's project of implementing Reformational church order was not successful. The main reason for this was probably that it deviated too radically from general political patterns of Livonia, and reminded perhaps the other Livonians of Prussian secularisation, although Wilhelm's plans were probably only to improve his political relations with evangelical powers in Germany and in Livonia, and especially with Riga. Although Wilhelm's attempt was not realised, it probably was not of no avail to him: He might have used it as a political trading item, which helped him to regain the co-authority over Riga.

It appears that Wilhelm did not have real possibilities to enforce any of his policies in Livonia without the support of other Livonian rulers, but this was complicated by the fact that he was more or less perceived as a "stranger" by them, as he never followed the written and unwritten rules for political actions in Livonia.<sup>144</sup> Naturally, this does not mean that it was impossible for Wilhelm to find common language with other Livonians at all, but it seems that his political aims were mostly quite different from those of the other Livonians, and it is clear that the proximity of Wilhelm's powerful relatives caused anxiety in Livonia. It is interesting to note, however, that Wilhelm's role was quite opposite in the relations with the Prussian bishops, as is revealed in Article V. In Livonia, the Margrave was perceived as hazardous to local privileges, traditions and status quo, but as nominal metropolitan in Prussia he acted as the protector of the same values against the Archbishop of Gniezno, who was seen as a foreign intruder by Prussian Bishops and by Wilhelm's brother, Duke Albrecht of Prussia.

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<sup>144</sup> That Wilhelm remained alien to other Livonians is clearly manifested in the declaration of the feud against him at the beginning of the Coadjutor's Feud: *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1540–1551)*, 4, nr 1842.

## 2.5. The Main Traits of the Political Relations in Livonia

The study further confirmed the allegation stated in the beginning, which is that normally, the politics of Livonia functioned effectively only if it was consensual. In external relations the interests of Livonian powers were most effectively protected if the Livonians acted as one for a common cause, such as the Bishops in the beginning of the 1520s, when they obtained the status of imperial princes, or all Livonian rulers in the 1540s, when the exemption of imperial taxes was achieved. But if someone tried to use external support only for oneself and against the interests of other Livonians, the attempt normally failed, not only as in the aforementioned cases concerning Margrave Wilhelm, but also the attempts of the Order in the 1540s to enforce in Livonia a privilege from the King of the Romans, which was harmful to the interests of the Bishops (see Article IV).

Additionally, during the Feud of Ösel-Wiek, imperial and papal mandates that supported one side were not enforced – not even those supporting Bishop Reinhold (who had support from most of the Livonians) as these demanded other Livonians to end the feud by possibly violent methods, which they wanted to avoid. Moreover, this would have meant that the decision over the outcome of the feud would have been made outside of Livonia, and in terms of only one Livonian party, which probably did not suit most of the other Livonians. It rather seems that they preferred to keep even the Pope and the Emperor (*resp.* Imperial Estates) out of inner-Livonian conflicts, and to solve these entirely in Livonia.<sup>145</sup>

The study has also shown that Livonian mechanisms of peaceful conflict-resolution were quite ineffective. The decisions made at Livonian Diets could not be effectuated if an influential political actor (like Margrave Wilhelm) did not agree to attend at them, thus avoiding binding himself directly with the decisions. This was manifested multiple times during the Feud of Ösel-Wiek, and again in the beginning of the Coadjutor's Feud (when the Archbishop did not participate in the Diet and did not accept the decisions the other Estates made there).<sup>146</sup> As we have seen, the Feud of Ösel-Wiek was ended only when

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<sup>145</sup> None of them questioned the legal authority of the Pope or the Emperor in Livonia, but it seems that all actual decisions in concrete cases were to be made on a local level, at least ideally. Naturally, this was not always the case, which is demonstrated by many Livonian cases discussed in Imperial courts (see footnote 115).

<sup>146</sup> This problem was not only characteristic of Livonia, as it occurred, for example, also in connection with the Imperial Diets – it was hard to enforce non-participating Estates to follow the decisions made without them, as according to medieval principle, all the decision were valid only for those who had participated in the decision-making, and the validity role of the majority decision was constantly put under question (Georg Schmidt, “Aushandeln” oder “Anordnen”. Der komplementäre Reichs-Staat und seine Gesetze im 16. Jahrhundert”, *Der Reichstag 1486–1613: Kommunikation – Wahrnehmung – Öffentlichkeiten*, ed. Maximilian Lanzinner and Arno Strohmeyer (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 73), Göttingen: Vanderhoek & Rupprecht, 2006, 95–116, here 114–115; Winfried Schultze, “Majority Decision in the Imperial Diets of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, *The Journal of Modern History*, 58 (Supplement, 1986), S46–S63.



both feuding parties finally accepted the mediation of other Livonian rulers, while during the coadjutor crisis in the 1550s an internal compromise was not found, and it ended with an open conflict in the summer of 1556. One can also conclude that the ineffective mechanism of conflict-resolution was one of the most critical deficits of the Livonian political system, and this also contributed significantly to the relatively rapid downfall of the Livonian political structures during the Russo-Livonian War, while various internal disagreements appeared, which proved really hard to resolve.

## 2.6. The Role of Livonian Bishops

Finally, I present the results directly concerning the role of Livonian Bishops in the political system of Livonia. The study indicated that the metropolitan status of the Archbishop had virtually no political weight in his relations to other Bishops.<sup>147</sup> The attempts of Archbishop Wilhelm to stress the subordination of the Bishops of Dorpat and Ösel-Wiek and thereby gain political support for his plans in the 1540s and 1550s clearly ended unsuccessfully.<sup>148</sup> In Prussia, the metropolitan-suffragan relationship had political meaning in the 1540s, but only because the local powers in Prussia – the Bishops and the Prussian Duke – and the Archbishop himself were interested in using it against the interests of Gniezno. Otherwise, Prussian Bishops acted like those in Livonia: If supporting the Archbishop's goals was not in their interests, then they refused to back them, just like when Margrave Wilhelm vainly sought their approval and political support for his Reformation plans in the 1540s.

As there was no subordination of the political relations between the Bishops and the Archbishop, there were no permanent or long-time political alliances between them, or between the Bishops and the Order. On the other hand, it seems that in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, the Bishops of Dorpat, Ösel-Wiek and Kurland normally acted as a united group in more important political decisions in Livonia, i.e. all three Bishops sided either the Order or the Archbishop, and there were not many split decisions. It also appears that the political actions of the Bishops depended on the two levels of decision-making mentioned above. The first one, which was based on the common group interests and relations between the Bishops, was more important in the cases when the Order seemed

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<sup>147</sup> Ecclesiastically, the Archbishop naturally was in a higher position than his suffragans, and this had to be also followed in the correspondence. But in a draft of a letter from the Bishop of Ösel-Wiek to the Archbishop from the year 1543, the Archbishop is firstly named "bruder", which is crossed out and replaced with "vader" (DRA, Fremmed proviniens, Lifland, Oesel Stifts registrant 4a; 1537–1549, frame 315. URL: [http://www.ra.ee/dgs/browser.php?tid=76&iid=92&lst=1&idx=315&img=mf\\_369\\_4a\\_000315.png&hash=fac959186a73f276c945e6d73b1edaec](http://www.ra.ee/dgs/browser.php?tid=76&iid=92&lst=1&idx=315&img=mf_369_4a_000315.png&hash=fac959186a73f276c945e6d73b1edaec) 2.2.2016). Perhaps this illustrates their actual and more or less equal position in political relations.

<sup>148</sup> In addition to Article IV, see also: Maasing, "Saare-Lääne piiskop ja tema vaimulik isand".

to become excessively powerful or its politics seemed to threaten liberties and privileges of all Livonian Bishops: Just like in the 1520s or the 1540s, when Livonian Bishops tended to oppose it and supported the weaker of the two “major” powers, the Archbishop. Similarly, these considerations played central role when the Prussian Bishops and the Archbishop of Riga fought against the ambitions of the Archbishop of Gniezno. But in that case the second regional level was also prominent, as there was cooperation between the Prussian Bishops, and the Prussian Duke. In Livonia, the regional level was central in questions that concerned Livonia as a whole, such as in the cases where the politics of the Archbishop seemed to threaten the internal balance or even the political structure of Livonia itself – as we have seen in numerous times in the case of Margrave Wilhelm, and also with Archbishop Johann Blankenfeld in 1525. The Bishops then sided with the Order to protect the overall interests of Livonian rulers and Estates.

The importance of kinship was stressed for Margrave Wilhelm, especially in Articles II and III, while in the case of other Livonian rulers the relevance of family relations in politics was not that obvious. At least in the case of Bishop Jodokus of Dorpat who was a close relative of Johann von der Recke, the coadjutor of the Livonian Master the common interests of Livonian Bishops seem to be more important. When Johann von der Recke tried to intervene in the elections of Livonian Bishops in the 1540s he was successfully opposed by the Bishops, Jodokus of Dorpat included (see Article IV). In conclusion, it appears that the regional ties of Livonia were more important than the family relations of Margrave Wilhelm, and the alliances of other Livonians against Wilhelm can be seen as unions formed to defend the current status of the region.

Thus, political alliances and relations were dependent on the concrete political situation. In the current dissertation, the ever-changing political situation was illustrated with the example of the Bishop of Dorpat in Article IV. It appears that the Bishop reacted swiftly to the changes in the political situation in Livonia. In the Feud of Ösel-Wiek, Bishop Johannes Bey was firstly the most avid supporter of his old acquaintance, Bishop Reinhold, but in the final years of the conflict he sought possibilities to end the feud in such a manner that the positions of Wilhelm would not be utterly destroyed. He probably did it for the reason that if Wilhelm, the coadjutor of the Archbishop, were to become politically insignificant, it could have also meant the weakening of the Archbishop's positions and unwanted rise in the power of the Order. On the other hand, the same Bishop supported also political actions of the Order; for example, he helped the Order to overthrow his old acquaintance in Ösel-Wiek and replace him with the Order's favourite, Bishop Johannes von Münchhausen of Kurland, in the beginning of the 1540s. The overthrow of Bishop Reinhold was more or less inevitable, as he was clearly unable to control his unruly Bishopric, and the new Bishop seems to be politically quite self-conscious, and not a blind supporter of the Order.<sup>149</sup> During the next years it appears clearly that if the privileges

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<sup>149</sup> For these occurrences in Ösel-Wiek, see: Maasing, “Rahutu Saare-Lääne piiskopkond”,

of Dorpat were in danger, then the Bishop did not hesitate to oppose the Order. But again, as also mentioned above, in the beginning of the Coadjutor's Feud, the Bishop of Dorpat, as all other Livonian Bishops, clearly supported the Order in an attempt to avoid the rise of foreign influence.

Thus, it appears that in foreign politics, Livonian rulers generally tried to act in solidarity, and the Bishops then mostly followed the lead of the Order (which as the strongest local power, generally most confidently opposed the foreign interventions), while in internal politics the Bishops' stance depended more on the specific situation and their own interests, as well as those of their territories. One could also conclude that it was generally in the Bishops' interests to maintain the balance of power in Livonia, because it was directly connected to their personal interests. Their political capital was not so great as to conduct their own politics on the Livonian level that would differ significantly from the politics of the Order or that of the Archbishop, but they were able to decisively affect the outcome of the rivalry between the "major" Livonian powers if they acted as a united group. Thus, the Bishops should have been very interested in maintaining the balance of power, the traditional structures, and relative political stability of Livonia, and also that all important decisions were made inside the borders of the land. This also meant that they needed the Livonian political system to be of consensual or compromising nature, where every Estate had its right to participate in decision-making. This alone would enable the Bishops to remain politically significant actors in Livonia, both as mediators of the conflicts, and amongst the real decision-makers at the Diets. Thus, for the Bishops, the rhetoric of "Livonian unity" that bore the characteristics mentioned here in the previous sentences – especially stability, balance of power, and consensual decision-making – was certainly not a hollow declamation.

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here esp. 30–32; Maasing, "Saare-Lääne piiskop ja tema vaimulik isand".



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## 5. SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

### **Piiskoppide roll Liivimaa poliitilises süsteemis (16. sajandi esimesel poolel)**

Käesolev doktoritöö tegeleb põhiliselt Liivimaa piiskoppide poliitilise rolli ja tegevuse hindamisega 16. sajandi esimesel poolel, eelkõige 1530.–1550. aastatel, ning selle peamiseks eesmärgiks on määratleda piiskoppide positsioon Liivimaa poliitilises süsteemis ja ühtlasi anda parem mõistmine viimase toimimisest. Siin vaadeldavaid kümnendeid on tihti peetud Liivimaa sisemise poliitilise ja moraalse allakäigu perioodiks, kuna sellele järgnes keskaegsete poliitiliste struktuuride suhteliselt kiire kokkuvarisemine Vene-Liivimaa sõja ajal (1558–1561/62). Teisalt pole toleaegeid valitsejaid, poliitilisi instantse, suhteid ega sündmuseid siiani eriti detailselt ja süstemaatiliselt uuritud.

Liivimaa piiskoppide poliitilist tegevust ei ole kuigivõrd eraldiseisvalt käsitletud aga mitte ainult eelmainitud sõja eelsete kümnendite, vaid kogu keskaegse Liivimaa poliitilise ajaloo kontekstis. Rõhuv enamik uurimusi Liivimaa keskajast vaatlevad piirkonna kaht tugevaimat võimu: Saksa ordu Liivimaa haru ja Riia peapiiskoppi ning nende vahelisi tihti problemaatilisi suhteid, mis tõepoolest määratlesid suures osas ära keskaegse Liivimaa poliitilise ajaloo suuna. Seetõttu on aga teiste Liivimaa isandate poliitiline roll suures osas nende kahe varju jäänud. Seda tendentsi on eriti süvendanud 19. sajandi lõpu ja 20. sajandi alguse baltisaksa uurijate arusaam, et ordu oli Liivimaal selgelt domineerival positsioonil ning selle püüdeid kogu Liivimaad enda ülemvõimule allutada peeti enamasti positiivseteks ja kogu Liivimaa huve teenivateks. Teisalt hinnati ordu poliitikale vastu seisnud piiskoppide tegevust negatiivse ning puhtalt egoistlikuna. Enamik viimase aja käsitlusi ordust on siiski pigem seisukohal, et sel polnud tegelikke võimalusi üksinda Liivimaa sisepoliitikat määrata ning ordu katseid seda saavutada võib pidada ainult organisatsiooni ja mitte kogu Liivimaa huve teenivateks. Samas leitakse uurimustes 16. sajandil Liivimaa poliitilistest struktuuridest, et Liivimaa poliitiline süsteem toimis erinevate poliitiliste jõudude koostöö ja kompromisside kaudu. Seetõttu pean mõistlikuks arvata, et teistelgi Liivimaa maahärradel peale ordu ja peapiiskopi oli piirkonna poliitikas mängida oluline osa.

Väitekirjas olen Liivimaad käsitletud ühtse poliitilise regioonina, millel puudus küll kese ehk kõrgeim kohalik valitseja, kuid mille üksustel oli teatav ühtekuuluvustunne ning mis enamasti toimisid otsuste langetamisel ühtse süsteemina. Lisaks lokaalsele poliitilisele kontekstile pööran tähelepanu ka olulisematele üldisematele aspektidele. Keskaegset Liivimaad mõjutas oluliselt Püha Rooma keisririik, eriti alates 1520. aastatest, mil kõigist Liivimaa valitsejatest said keisri läänimehed ehk riigivürstid. Samuti arvestati üha enam keisririigi seadusandluse ning selle kesksete institutsioonide, näiteks Riigipäeva ja Kammerkohtuga. Seetõttu võib 16. sajandi Liivimaad käsitada keisririigi ääremaanana, mille suhted keskusega ajapikku tihenesid. Samuti mõjutas Liivimaa poliitikat olulisel määral tema paiknemine läänekristliku maailma serval vastu

idakristlikku Venemaad – tõik, mida liivimaalased püüdsid oma poliitilises propagandas aktiivselt ära kasutada, väites, et maa on pidevalt venelaste poolt ohustatud, mida läänepoolsed võimud enamasti vähemalt sõnades ka tunnustasid. Nõnda võib Liivimaa pidada vähemalt kahekordseks rajamaaks: nii läänekristluse (kaasa arvatud selle pea, paavsti) kui ka Püha Rooma riigi perspektiivist lähtudes ning seetõttu on töös pööratud tähelepanu ka rajamaateooriatele (*Borderland theories*).

Käesoleva töö oluliseks teoreetiliseks lähtekohaks on ka Niklas Luhmanni süsteemiteooria, mis väidab, et kõik sotsiaalsed süsteemid – kaasa arvatud poliitilised – on tekkinud tänu kommunikatsioonile ning et ainult tänu suhtluse pidevale jätkumisele suudavad need süsteemid end taastoota ja toimida. Lisaks on oluline ka varauusaja poliitika uurimises rakendatava lähenemise, ‘poliitika kultuuriloo’ (*Kulturgeschichte des politischen*) esindajate seisukoht, et poliitilises toimimises ja kommunikatsioonis on oluline roll muu hulgas keelekasutusel ehk retoorikal. Retooriliste konstruktsioonide ja argumentatsiooni uurimine hõlbustab ühtlasi oluliselt mõistmist, milliseid poliitilisi jõude peeti sõbralikeks või vaenulikeks ning ka seda, millist käitumist või kavatsusi tõlgendati positiivsete ja kasulike ja milliseid negatiivsete ja stigmatiseerivatena.

Viimase tõttu olen siinses töös piiskoppide poliitikat uuritud nende poliitilise suhtluse kaudu. Kuna 16. sajandi ja eriti 1530.–1550. aastate puhul pole Liivimaa poliitilist suhtlust kuigivõrd käsitletud, olen pööranud tähelepanu ka Liivimaa isandate vahelisele üldisele kommunikatsioonile. Sel põhjusel tõuseb töö keskseimaks tegelaseks Riia viimane keskaegne peapiiskop, Brandenburg-Ansbachi markkrahv Wilhelm, kes oli 1530.–1560. aastatel pidevalt Liivimaa poliitilise elu keskpunktis ning suhtles väga aktiivselt teiste liivimaalaste ja naabruskonna poliitiliste jõududega – eriti oma Preisimaa hertsogist venna Albrechtiga, kes omakorda oli kontaktis ka teiste liivimaalastega. Brandenburgi soost vendadega seotud poliitiline kommunikatsioon võimaldab seetõttu kõige paremini avada toonasel Liivimaa poliitilisel maastikul toimunut. Töö üheks kõrvaleesmärgina käsitlengi lähemalt mõningaid Wilhelmi Liivimaa-poliitika aspekte, mis peaksid viimasele eesmärgile kaasa aitama – eriti seda, miks tema poliitilised kavad enamasti ebaõnnestusid. Erinevate poliitiliste jõudude vaateid ja tegevusvõimalusi avavad hästi ka töös vaadeldud kaks Liivimaa sisekonflikti, Saare-Lääne (1532–1536) ja koadjuutorivaenus (1556–1557) ning mõlemas neist oli markkrahv Wilhelmil võtmeroll. Samuti leiab töös käsitlemist religiooni ja poliitika vahekord – eelkõige põhjusel, et usuliste vastuolude mõju poliitikale on toonasel reformatsiooniajastul oluliseks peetud.

Töö peamisi väiteid on neli. Esiteks väidan, piiskoppidel – eriti Tartu ja Saare-Lääne vaimulikel isandatel – oli oluline roll Liivimaa sisepoliitikas, kuna just nemad olid tihti kaalukeeleks, kes otsustasid, kumb Liivimaa “suurvõim” poliitilises dispuudis peale jääb – ordu või peapiiskop. Sealjuures tegid nad valiku, keda toetada, eelkõige kahest huvide tasandist lähtudes: kas probleem puudutas pigem piiskoppide kui kitsama grupi huve – eriti nende privileege ja poliitilist tegevusvabadust – või oli tegemist pigem küsimusega, mis omas

olulist tähtsust kogu Liivimaa kui poliitilise regiooni jaoks; näiteks välisjõudude võimalik sekkumine Liivimaa siseasjadesse. Samuti võib arvata, et Liivimaa piiskopid seisis rohkem jõudude tasakaalu säilitamise eest Liivimaal kui ordu või peapiiskop, sest ainult see võimaldas neil mängida Liivimaa poliitikas otsustavat rolli.

Teiseks väidan, et reeglina olid peaaegu kõik Liivimaa poliitilised jõud välise sekkumise vastu ning püüdsid kohalikud probleemid lahendada Liivimaa sees, mistõttu omavahelise koostöö ja sisemise kokkuleppe saavutamine olid väga olulised. Teisalt oli Liivimaa-siseste konfliktide lahendamine aga sageli aeganõudev ja ebaefektiivne, sest sisemise kokkuleppe saavutamine eeldas, et kõik olulisemad poliitilised jõud nõustuvad vahendusprotsessiga. Kui mõni neist sellest keeldus, siis võis kogu protsess kergesti takerduda ning põhjustada tõsisid poliitilisi komplikatsioone.

Töö kolmanda peamise hüpoteesina esitan väite, et Liivimaa valitsejate suhteid iseloomustas üldiselt võrdsus: ei ole võimalik tuvastada nendevahelisi pikemaajalisi kliendi-patrooni tüüpi suhteid, kus üks maahärra teise Liivimaa isanda soovile või tahtele alluks. Ka kõigi Liivimaa piiskoppide kiriklik alluvussuhe Riia peapiiskopile kui metropoliidile (kui välja arvata Lundi peapiiskoppi enda metropoliidina tunnistan Tallinna piiskop, kelle poliitiline tähtsus oli võrreldes teiste piiskoppidega selgelt väiksem) ei laienenud poliitika valdkonda – seal tegutsesid peapiiskop ja piiskopid üldjoontes võrdväärsete partneritena. Samuti ei mänginud valitsejatevahelistes suhetes otsest rolli sugulussidemed, kuna reeglina polnud nad omavahel väga lähedases suguluses ning enamasti alam-aadli või linnakodanike seast pärinevatel Liivimaa isandatel ei olnud mõjukaid veresugulasi. Ainsaks märkimisväärseks erandiks oli peapiiskop Wilhelm, kelle lähisugulased valitsesid Preisimaad ja Poolat.

Neljandaks leian, et religiooni ja eriti usuliste vastuolude mõju Liivimaa poliitikale oli 1530.–1550. aastatel pigem vähene ning erinevad usulised vaated ei tekitanud silmapaistvaid poliitilisi probleeme. Pigem võib väita, et Liivimaal loodeti Lääne kiriku taasühendamisele ning usuliste dispuutide asemel püüti säilitada maa sisemist poliitilist stabiilsust. Religiooni rolli kahanemist Liivimaa võimustruktuuride jaoks saab aga täheldada juba enne reformatsiooni: Liivimaa vaimulikud maaisandad nägid endid juba 16. sajandi alguses pigem ilmalike vürstide ja üha vähem kiriklike aukandjate või hingekarjastena.

Käesoleva uurimuse allikaliseks baasiks on Liivimaa valitsejate vaheline korrespondents, mis võimaldab uurida nii poliitilisi sündmusi, poliitilist suhtlust kui ka retoorikat ja argumentatsiooni. Eelkõige sisaldab selliseid allikaid regestide publikatsioon *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland*, mis kajastab Preisimaa hertsogi suhtlust Liivimaa poliitiliste jõudude, eriti oma venna Wilhelmi ajavahemikul 1525–70. Publikatsioonist paljastuvad üksikasjalikult nii Wilhelmi leeri kui ka tema vastaste peamised poliitilised seisukohad ja ettevõtmised. Samas osutusid kasulikuks ka mitmed varasemad publikatsioonid, nagu *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae* viies ning *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage* kolmas köide. 15. ja 16. sajandi vahetuse uurimisel tuginesin eel-

kõige klassikalisele allikapublikatsioonile *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch* ning liivimaalaste retoorikat kajastavale propagandateosele *Eynne schonne hysthorie*, samas kui Liivimaa sõja esimeste aastate käsitlemise puhul leidsid kasutamist (*Neue*) *Quellen zur Geschichte des Untergangs livländischer Selbständigkeit* ning *Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte Livlands in den Jahren 1558–1562*. Tulevikus on võimalik selle töö alustatud uurimisuundi – piiskoppide sisepoliitika, suhted ning üldine Liivimaa poliitsüsteemi toimimine – kindlasti jätkata ning ka allikalist baasi laiendada. Esmajärjekorras on sellisel puhul abiks Saare-Lääne piiskopi arhiiv.

Käesoleva töö põhiosa moodustavad kuus artiklit. Neist esimene, mida võiks pidada ülejäänute suhtes sissejuhatavaks, vaatleb lähemalt Liivimaa poliitikas ühte kõige olulisemat retoorilist konstruktsiooni, “Vene ohtu”, mille raames kujutati venelasi kogu kristlaskonda ohustavate barbaarsete skismaatikutena. Artikkel vaatleb “Vene ohu” retoorika kasutamist 15. sajandi lõpust – mil see poliitilises retoorikas olulisele kohale tõusis – kuni 1550. aastateni ning võrdleb seda toonases Lääne-Euroopas olulisel kohal olnud sarnase “Türgi ohu” retoorikaga, mis oli “Vene ohule” ka olulisel määral eeskujuks. Artiklist ilmneb, et eelkõige kasutasid liivimaalased sellist retoorikat välismaiste jõudude, eriti Püha Rooma keisririigi aukandjate ning paavsti mõjutamiseks, aga ka see, et 16. sajandi esimesel poolel viidati “Vene ohule” enamasti teistel eesmärkidel kui tegeliku abi saamiseks venelaste vastu – tegelik hirm venelaste ees tekkis liivimaalastel pärast 1500. aastaid (kui see oli levinud seoses Liivimaa ja Vene konfliktiga sajandivahetusel, mis tipnes 1501–03 sõjaga) uuesti alles 1540. aastate lõpus. Vahepeal kasutati nn Vene kaarti eelkõige selleks, et süüdistada kedagi reeturlikus koostöös idanaabritega, õigustada kellegi poliitilist tegevust või põhjendada Türgi-vastaseks sõjaks kogutavate maksude mittetasumist Püha Rooma riigile. Viimase puhul tuleb tõdeda aga seda, et ehkki keisririigis aktsepteeriti “Vene ohu” põhjendust ning liivimaalased vabastati Türgi-maksust, siis teisalt ei soovitud keisririigis kuigivõrd Liivimaad omakorda toetada venelaste vastu: kui liivimaalased hakkasid 1540. aastate lõpus venelaste vastu tõelist abi soovima, siis viitasid keisririigi poliitilised jõud, et abi on maksuvabastuste näol juba antud. Nõnda osutus “Vene ohu” retoorika liivimalaste jaoks sisuliselt “nullsummamänguks”, mis neid tegelikult kuigivõrd ei aidanud.

Samaaegselt “Vene ohuga” kujutati Liivimaad ka kui kristlaskonna kaitsevalli (*Antemurale Christianitatis*), mis suudab piisava abi korral lääne poolt kogu kristlaskonda ähvardavat ohtu tõrjuda. Töö esimesest artiklist nähtub ka, et enamasti oli liivimaalaste välispoliitiline retoorika ühine ning reeglina mängis selle kujundamisel ja esitamisel kesket rolli ordu. Samuti ilmneb, et üldiselt jätkusid 16. sajandi poliitilises retoorikas eelnevate sajanditega sarnased tendentsid, kus “kurjade vaenlaste” kaardi väljakäimisega püüti saavutada teisi poliitilisi eesmärke, ainult et varasemate paganlike leedulaste asemel tõusid esikohale skismaatilised venelased. Välisohu puhul tuleks siiski mainida ka seda, et liivimaalastele ei valmistanud meeolehärmi mitte ainult võimalik venelaste, vaid ka teiste võõrjõudude, eriti Taani ja Poola-Leedu sekkumise oht.

Viimane tuleb selgelt esile seoses markkrahv Wilhelmiga, kes püüdis korduvalt oma sugulastelt ja hõimlastelt tuge saada.

Teine artikkel võtab lähema vaatluse alla Liivimaa-sisese argumentatsiooni Saare-Lääne vaenusena tuntud konflikti ajal (1532–1536), vaadeldes selle ajal toimunud intensiivset sisepoliitilist kommunikatsiooni ning eriti vastasleeride argumente, mis olid peaaesjalikult mõeldud teiste liivimaalaste mõjutamiseks. Siin ilmneb, et neist ilmselgelt edukamad olid sellised, mis rõhustid legitiimsusele, Liivimaa-sisesele ühtsusele ning liivimaalaste ühistele huvidele – põhjendused, mida kasutasid eelkõige Saare-Lääne piiskop Reinhold ja tema toetajaskond. Hoopis vähem edu oli tema vastasleeril, mida juhtis markkrahv Wilhelm, kelle argumendid rõhustid ühelt poolt vaenlase väidetavatele kuritegudele ning teiselt poolt apelleerisid välisjõudude autoriteedile ja nende võimalikule sekkumisele. Artiklist ilmneb ka, et mõlemad pooled apelleerisid oma argumentatsioonis tihti keisririigi seadustele ja otsustele ning et neile omistati Liivimaal väga oluline autoriteet. Teisalt tuleb selgelt välja ka see, et rõhuv enamik Liivimaa poliitilistest jõududest soovis konflikti täielikult lahendada Liivimaa sees ning vastu oldi igasugusele välisjõudude sekkumisele – muuhulgas ei soovitud sedagi, et otsustamine läheks keisri või paavsti voli alla.

Hoolimata viimasest tõdemusest olid keiser ja paavst liivimaalaste jaoks olulised õiguslikud autoriteedid, kuna nad andsid poliitilise legitiimsuse Liivimaa piiskoppide võimule. Töös käsitlesin lühidalt ka küsimust, kumba neist võiks 16. sajandil nende jaoks olulisemaks pidada. Leidsin, et keisri roll kasvas alates 1520. aastatest oluliselt, sest alates sellest ajast võtsid peaaegu kõik Liivimaa isandad tema käest vastu nende ilmalikku võimu kinnitavad riigivürsti regaalid. See on ühtlasi ka selgeks indikaatoriks, et liivimaalased hakkasid üha enam tähtsustama oma võimu ilmalikke aspekte ning et nende kui kiriklike aukandjate tähendus ilmselt kahanes. Teisalt ei saa aga ka öelda, et paavsti tähtsus oleks liivimaalaste silmis väga oluliselt kahanenud, sest kõik Liivimaa piiskopid hankisid kuni 1550. aastate lõpuni temalt kinnituse oma vaimulikule võimule. Nõnda võib väita, et keisri ja paavsti roll olid alates 1520. aastatest enam-vähem võrdsed.

Kolmas artikkel võrdleb Saare-Lääne vaenust aga teise sisekonflikti, koadjuutorivaenusega (1556–1557). Selles jõuan seisukohale, et kuigi need tülid olid mõneti sarnased – näiteks oli mõlema konflikti keskmes oma võimu tugevdada püüdev markkrahv Wilhelm –, on siiski olulisemad nende erinevused. Kui Saare-Lääne vaenust saab pidada ühe piiskopkonna sisekonfliktiks, mis suudeti lõppkokkuvõttes Liivimaa sees lahendada, siis koadjuutorivaenuse puhul osutus see võimatuks, kuna väliste jõudude ning eelkõige Poola kuninga huvi Liivimaa poliitikasse sekkuda oli liialt suur. Sarnaselt eelmisele ilmneb ka kolmandas artiklis selgelt, et tõsiste sisetülide lahendamine Liivimaal oli keerukas ja aeganõudev protsess ning koadjuutorivaenuse alguses osutusid liivimaalased, hoolimata mitmest katsest, võimetuks üldist kriisi ära hoidma ning tüli rahumeelsete vahenditega lahendada. Just konfliktide lahendamise puudulikkude võimekust võiks pidada ka üheks Liivimaa poliitilise süsteemi tõsiseimaks defitsiidiks, mis

ilmselt aitas olulisel määral kaasa ka Liivimaa poliitiste struktuuride kiirele kokkuvarisemisele Liivimaa sõja algusaastatel.

Neljas artikkel, mida võib pidada antud töö seisukohalt keskseks, vaatleb markkrahv Wilhelmi ja Tartu piiskoppide vahelisi suhteid 1530.–50. aastatel. Just siin esitan hüpoteesi, et piiskoppide poliitilised otsused sõltusid kahetisest huvide tasandist: piiskoppide kui kitsama huvigrupi omadest ning teiseks kogu Liivimaad puudutavatest. Selgub ka, et kui Liivimaa sisepoliitikas domineeris tihti esimene tasand ning piiskopid liitusid peapiiskopiga, et tõrjuda ordu võimu liigset kasvu, siis välispoliitikas oli esikohal pigem teine tasand ning seal tegutsesid piiskopid enamasti koos orduga, et takistada peapiiskop Wilhelmi võimukate välissugulaste sekkumist Liivimaa asjadesse. Seega tõdeb artikkel, et piiskoppide suhted sõltusid eelkõige poliitilisest hetkeolukorrast ning püsivaid liidu- või ka vaenusuhteid pole Liivimaal 1530.–1550. aastatel võimalik tuvasutada. Sarnaselt neljandale artiklile käsitleb ka viies piiskoppidevahelist kommunikatsiooni, kuid mitte Liivimaal – võrdleva perspektiivi andmiseks vaatleb see Riia peapiiskopi ja Preisimaa piiskoppide vahelisi suhteid. Siit, nagu ka eelmisest artiklist, ilmneb selgelt, et Preisimaa ja Liivimaa piiskoppide kiriklik alluvussuhe Riia peapiiskopi ees oli poliitilises mõttes enamasti tähtsusetu ning peapiiskopil ei olnud võimalik oma sufragaane selle abil mõjutada enda eesmärke toetama. Samas nähtub aga viiendast artiklist, et peapiiskop ja Preisimaa piiskopid toonitasid alluvussuhe olulisust 1540. aastatel, kui mõlemad leidsid, et see on neile kasulik: nimelt soovis Gniezno peapiiskop siis Preisimaa piiskoppe enda metropoliidivõimule allutada, mille vastu olid aga nii Preisimaa kirikuvürstid kui ka Riia peapiiskop.

Töö neljandast ja viiendast artiklist ilmnevad kõige paremini ka markkrahv Wilhelmi poliitilise tegevuse edukuse ja ebaedukuse tagamaad. Just 1540. aastad tõid talle kõige enam edu: siis suutis ta taaskehtestada peapiiskopi kaasvõimu Riia linnas, mis oli 20 aastat varem kaduma läinud. Selle taga oli eelkõige koostöö ja kompromissid teiste Liivimaa jõududega: kõigepealt sõlmis ta teiste piiskoppidega liidu ordu vastu, kes püüdis nende valimisi kontrollida, ning seejärel tegi ta viimasega kompromissi, mis tagas talle kaasvõimu taastamise Riia linna üle. Selline käitumine jäi Wilhelmi puhul siiski pigem erandlikuks ning enamasti püüdis ta edu saavutada Liivimaa-väliste jõududele toetudes, mis tõi kaasa aga teiste liivimaalaste vastuseisu ning markkrahvi plaanide ebaõnnestumise. Seetõttu suhtuti Liivimaal Wilhelmissa kui ohtlikusse võõrasse, eriti kuna tema võimsad välistoetajad, Preisimaa ja Poola-Leedu, asusid kohe Liivimaa piiri taga. Teisalt on huvitav märkida, et Preisimaal etendas markkrahv vastupidist rolli: seal oli ta kohalike piiskoppide seniste õiguste kaitsja välise sissetungija, Gniezno peapiiskopi vastu.

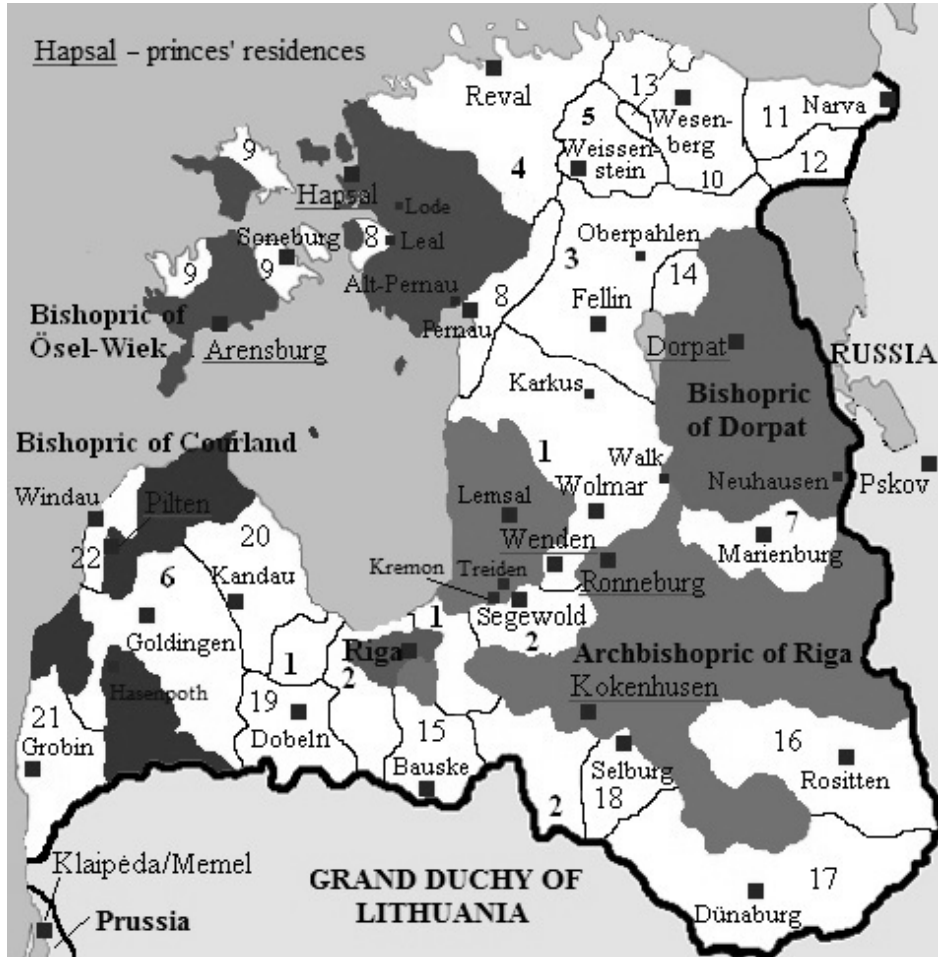
Kuues artikkel vaatleb Riia peapiiskopi Wilhelmi luhtunud katset viia 1540. aastate keskel Liivimaal sisse luterlik kirikukorraldus. Sel puhul ilmneb, et see kava ei leidnud toetust tõenäoliselt mitte usulistel, vaid eelkõige poliitilistel põhjustel. Peapiiskopi enda kavatsused polnud samuti ainult religiooniga seotud, vaid ilmselt püüdis ta lisaks oma poliitilist positsiooni parandada. Peale selle ilmneb, et küllaltki oluline mõju oli Püha Rooma riigis toimunud, kus



sarnased piiskoplikud reformatsioonikatsed läbi kukkusid. Sarnaselt ilmneb Saare-Lääne vaenust käsitlenud kirjutisest (töö teises artiklis), et usulised vastuolud polnud selle puhkemisel olulised ning piiskoppidevahelisi suhteid käsitlevad artiklid (neljas ja viies) näitavad, et piiskoppide vahel usuküsimustes tõsisemaid vastuolusid tõenäoliselt polnud. Nõnda võib tõdeda, et 1530.–1550. aastate Liivimaa poliitikas usuvastuolud tõenäoliselt erilist rolli ei mänginud ning seal eelistati pigem oodata Lääne kiriku taasühendamist üldkontsiilil. Pealegi võis olla neidki, kes püüdsid leida vahepealset teed kahe konfessiooni vahel – sarnaselt Kleve hertsogiga, kelle valdustest paljud Liivimaa eliidi liikmed pärinesid.

## 6. APPENDICES

### 6.1. Map of Livonia after 1534



Numbers are for provinces of the Livonian Order (white): 1 – under direct rule of Livonian Master; 2 – domain of field marshal; 3 – commandry (Komturei) of Fellin (Viljandi); 4 – commandry of Reval (Tallinn); 5 – bailiwick (Vogtei) of Jerwen (Järva); 6 – commandry of Goldingen (Kuldiga); 7 – commandry of Marienburg (Alüksne); 8 – commandry of Pernau (Pärnu); 9 – bailiwick of Soneburg (Maasilinn); 10 – commandry of Wesenberg (Rakvere); 11 – bailiwick of Narva; 12 – bailiwick of Neuschloss (Vasknarva); 13 – bailiwick of Tolsburg (Toolse); 14 – commandry of Talkhof (Kursi); 15 – bailiwick of Bauske (Bauska); 16 – bailiwick of Rositten (Rēzekne); 17 – commandry of Dünaburg (Daugavpils); 18 – bailiwick of Selburg (Sēlpils); 19 – bailiwick of Dobeln (Dobele); 20 – bailiwick of Kandau (Kandava); 21 – bailiwick of Grobin (Grobiņa); 22 – commandry of Windau (Ventspils).

## 6.2. Confirmations of Livonian rulers by the Pope and the Emperor, 1530–56

Name	Title	Ruled	Imperial regalia from	Papal confirmation from
Thomas Schöning	AB of Riga	1528–1539	22. April 1528	18. January 1531
Johannes Bey	B of Dorpat	1528–1543	15. June 1528	16. August 1532
Reinhold von Buxhoeveden	B of Ösel-Wiek	1530–1541	1531, Summer	8. July 1532
Johannes Roterd	B of Reval	1531–1536	?	30. August 1531
Hermann von Brüggenei	Landmaster of Livonia	1535–1549	Before 10. July 1533 /as coadjutor/	—
Arnold Annebat	B of Reval	1536–1551	?	5. September 1536
Wilhelm, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach	AB of Riga	1539–1563	7. December 1539	17. November 1531 /as coadjutor/
Johannes von Münchhausen	B of Kurland; B of Ösel-Wiek	1540–1560; 1541–1560	Before 26. July 1541; ?	16. July 1540; 9. January 1542
Johann von der Recke	Landmaster of Livonia	1549–1551	Before 27. February 1542 /as coadjutor/	—
Jodokus von der Recke	B of Dorpat	1543– 1551/1553	?	21. April 1544
Heinrich von Galen	Landmaster of Livonia	1551–1557	Before 28. December 1551	—
Hermann Wesel	B of Dorpat	1552/1554– 1558	June 1553	25. June 1554
Friedrich von Ampten	B of Reval	1551–1557	?	22. March 1553
Wilhelm von Fürstenberg	Landmaster of Livonia	1557–1559	Before 19. June 1556 /as coadjutor/	—

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2. “Rahutu Saare-Lääne piiskopkond: piiskopid, aadelkond ja kapiitel 1520.–1540. aastatel”, *Läänemaa Muuseumi Toimetised*, XV (2012), 22–42.
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2. “An Archaeological Pilot Study of the Gallows Hill in Tartu”, with Martin Malve, Anu Kivirüüt, Raido Roog, and Sebastian K. T. S. Warmländer, *Arheoloogilised välitööd Eestis = Archeological fieldwork in Estonia*, 2012 (2013), 207–216.
3. “Poliitiline ajalugu (1613–1914)”, *Setomaa. 2. Vanem ajalugu muinasajast kuni 1920. aastani*, ed. Mare Aun, Heiki Valk, Anti Selart, and Anti Lillak, Tartu: Eesti Rahva Muuseum, 2009, 302–316.

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25. **Kaja Kumer-Haukanõmm.** Teisest maailmasõjast tingitud Balti pagulaste problemaatika aastatel 1945–1952 Eesti pagulaste näitel. Tartu, 2012, 202 lk.
26. **Meelis Maripuu.** Omavalitsuseta omavalitsused Halduskorraldus Eestis Saksa okupatsiooni ajal 1941–1944. Tartu, 2012, 332 lk.
27. **Kaarel Vanamõlder.** Kommunikatsiooniväli Rootsi Läänemere-provintsid 17. sajandi lõpul – Revalsche Post-Zeitung varauusaegse informatsioonikandjana. Tartu, 2012, 221 lk.
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30. **Ivo Juurvee.** Riigisaladuse kaitse Eesti Vabariigis 1918–1940. Tartu, 2013, 282 lk.
31. **Mari Nõmmela.** Stiiliajaloolise ja marksistliku käsitluse konflikt Voldemar Vaga kunstiajalookirjutuses 20. sajandi II poolel. Tartu, 2013, 213 lk.
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34. **Olev Liivik.** Eesti NSV Ministrite Nõukogu institutsionaalne areng ja kaadrid 1940–1953. Tartu, 2014, 349 lk.
35. **Reigo Lokk.** Sepistades natsiooni: taasiseseisvunud Eesti etnoliitilised konfliktid. Tartu, 2015, 465 lk.
36. **Tõnis Tatar.** Kolmas tee Eesti NSV kunstis: avangardi ja võimumeelsuse vahel. Tartu, 2015, 295 lk.